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UMHLANGA (REED) CEREMONY OF THE SWAZI MAIDENS

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SYNOPSIS

This article deals with (1) *The meaning and significance of the* umhlanga (*reeds*) *among the Swazi:* (*a*) *description of utility of reeds in the housing of the Swazi,* (*b*) *significance of the structural arrangements of the Swazi kraal.* (2) *The organization of women for the cutting of* umhlanga : (*a*) *method of* ukumemeta (*announcing*), (*b*) *assembling of various groups,* (*c*) *selection of officers,* (*d*) *order of departure.* (*3*) *The march for the* umhlanga *ceremony:* (*a*) *groupings and the departure,* (*b*) *the role of the Paramount Chief,* (*c*) *the arrival at and return from Loßamba.* (4) *The* umhlanga *dance ceremony:* (*a*) *making of dance costumes,* (*b*) *types of costumes amd hair-style,* (*c*) *dramatic display by actors in rhythm and song,* (*d*) *description of the nature of the rhythm and song.* (5) Umhlanga *ceremony as a means of implanting discipline, character, and sex education in the life of the Swazi girls. The role of the Queen-mother and royal consorts. The various aspects of the custom of* Ukuhlonipha (*avoidance*) *as practised in the whole pattern of behaviour throughout the ceremony, e.g.* ukuhlonipha *of the ancestral spirit hut, the cattle-kraal, the in-laws, the shadow of royal persons, and sacred places.*

The royal kraals in Swaziland have windscreens of river reeds protecting first the whole kraal and, secondly giving privacy to each hut or group of huts forming a household. These windscreens are known as *emaguma*. Kraals of minor chiefs and those of commoners who can afford it have these windscreens. The Usutu river and its tributaries, supply all the needs of Loßamba, the Queen-mother's kraal, and Lozitha, Sobuza's kraal.

When crops have been gathered, and the cattle let loose to browse on the mealie-stalks left standing in the fields, word is sent to the chief of Swaziland for young girls to gather at the capital, to cut reeds for the royal kraals. This reed cutting is tribute labour reserved for young girls only, the young men's *Incwala* labour is to fetch the branches of the *Lusekwane* tree for the *Incwala* ceremony, a national affair taking place in December or January yearly.[1]

[1] "An African Aristocracy" — Kuper, H. P. 208. "Fetching the sacred tree."

On July the tenth 1950, the first batch of girls arrived at Loßamba and girls continued to do so until Wednesday. An announcement — *kumemeta* — was made for the girls to cook provisions for the journey. At midday the next day the girls were told to tie up their bundles. When all was ready, the girls, assembling in front of the kraal, started dancing the *Ukuhlehla* to please the spirits, to solicit them to go with them and protect them on their long journey — *kutsatsa emadloti kaßayethe* [2] (Let us take the spirits from Bayethe). Bayethe is a Swazi name for the hut where the tribal ancestral spirits are supposed to dwell.

At about 1.30 p.m. the girls left for Lozitha, leaping and running *kuqoqoma* like young warriors. Crossing the Usutu river, they waited below the village until all were assembled, to receive

[2] "An African Aristocracy" — Kuper, H. P. 42 : "On the right-hand side of the national shrine hut (D) popularly known as "*KaBayethe*".

instructions from their leader, Mashiqeni Duße. One group of girls danced between the cattle kraal and the Paramount Chief's office, then they moved back to fetch the rest of the girls and all joined in the same dance. When tired the Loßamba group went inside the kraal and waited for the Lozitha group to get ready.

The groups comprised:

(1) All the girls from the scattered royal villages, each village under an *inkosatana nendzuna yayo* (a princess and her officer).

(2) All the girls from villages of sub-chiefs, each with *inkosatana yendzuna nendzuna yayo* (A chief's daughter and her officer).

These groups were called *emakhandza* (heads). The groups were subdivided into junior and senior girls. The juniors were those who could not travel very far, the seniors those who were expected to do the whole night and day's journey.

The younger group from Loßamba never crossed to Lozitha with the main body, but, following the main road towards the upper Usutu river, were accompanied by a sprinkling of senior princesses to keep discipline and also to help the little ones in cutting the reeds, and in making up the bundles. A few young men from the regiment stationed at Loßamba accompanied this group to help with the skinning of beasts that were slaughtered on the way for the party. These men arranged for sleeping accommodation where the group put up for the night.

The Lozitha juniors trotted alongside their elder sisters for half the way where they stayed the night and waited until the seniors returned with the reeds the next day. Each little girl received a share from each bundle, and so all would go home carrying bundles.

Before the girls left Lozitha they gave a final dance bidding farewell to the Paramount Chief before the cattle-kraal. The cattle-kraal is taboo, and girls never dance inside it except at the capital during the *Incwala* festival or the *ukumeketa* ceremony which is part of a marriage rite. The former is a national affair, and the latter a family affair.

The leading Princess — *Inkosatana yoMhlanga*, was Sobuza's daughter by one of his principal wives — *emangqumu*,[1] she had not returned from school; so the problem arose as to who was to officiate in her place, such a problem had never risen before. I asked which of her sisters would officiate for her, and I was told that one of the Paramount Chief's betrothed *isingani* or *i(li)phovela* would accompany the girls but she could not step into the shoes of the absent princess because she was not of the *emaLangeni*[2] clan, the royal clan. On the other hand no princess of the *emaLangeni* clan had reached the stage of conducting such affairs, it was not merely a question of filling a vacancy. The stage in the growth of a girl determines her duties among her sisters. Also the status of her mother determines her social position. I was told that the next girl would be the one who, with her age-group, would first celebrate the *Umchwasho*[3] or puberty ceremony, and that had not yet been decided on. The princess who was at school had not performed the prescribed custom of the *Umchwasho* ceremony because she supplanted her sister who had been demoted under the *Umchwasho* sanctions for having a baby during the three year taboo period. The Paramount Chief determines which princess is to "carry" the *Umchwasho* and *Umhlanga* ceremony (*Inkosatana ethwala Umchwasho neyoMhlanga*). She must come from the main houses of the principal wife.[4]

When all was ready for the journey, I saw the Paramount Chief inside the cattle-kraal where he had been watching the proceedings. A call followed *kumemeta* then about ten warriors, carrying sleeping pillows, moved out followed by other warriors. They moved as if leading, then turned about in single file and, passing in front of the royal hut, *isigodlo*, were joined by a young man also carrying sleeping mats. There was a royal salute: the Induna sang praises of Sobuza II, and the party left.

emangqumu originates from the name given to copper studs worn by the principal wives of the Paramount Chief during the national ceremonies, and also when they have to approach the vicinity of the 'Spirit Hut'.

[1] *emaLangeni* means "Children of the Sun".

[2] Kuper: "An African Aristocracy", p. 130.

[3] The word 'house' is used here to mean, the principal wife together with the affiliated co-wives and their offspring — *Indlu*.

The royal salute was an indication that the young man was in charge of all the equipment for the *Liphovela*, who was accompanying the girls. With the Swazi everything that is connected with the *Ingwenyama* [1], the chief, whether he be in contact with it or not, is reverenced as if he were there. His cars are well known to every Swazi, they carry the insignia of the *igwalagwala* (Knysna Lourie), and it does not matter whether he is in the car or not, his subjects will always sound the royal salute — *kukhuta lulwandle* (to hail the sea-foam). They praise him because they believe that his dynamic powers are embodied in whatever he has touched, embodied even in the words he utters. I remember once when the Paramount Chief wanted to speak to me, he sent a page to find me and according to custom the page did not say: "The Chief wants to speak to you," but he said: "*eMandla Twala*", which means the strength of the Mighty and Powerful One has overshadowed you. In reply I had to salute his presence as manifested in the messenger. There is therefore deep in the Swazi practices the deifying of their kings.

We all saluted as the royal caravan moved away, the dancing of the girls became faster and faster and finally became disorderly as they scampered away, first in small hops and finally at full speed down the hillside. All the inhabitants of the kraal who had been watching the dance went quietly to their huts, chatting with one another and remarking about the growth of the girls since last they saw them when they had come to the same ceremony. Some said that the attendance was much larger than that of the previous years, but remarked that there were few big girls because of the "stalk-borer" — *inhlava*, referreng to the unfortunate practice of girls getting pregnant too early in life.

The *Liphovela* departed accompanied by two elder girls of Sobuza II, Lonkumbi and Lomɓoshwa. They were not to leave her at any time, but were to be on either side of her *kusotsha*, not only because she was to be their future mother and a royal wife, but because in royal circles no one that is honoured is ever left without companionship. To give an example, I remember once accompanying a group of agricultural experts, with the Paramount Chief, to visit one of the demonstration farms. A European who was a personal friend of the Chief was driving alone in his car. At the first stop Sobuza ordered me to leave his car and join his friend. His comment was: "It is not right to let George drive all alone in a car as though he were a mad man, go and join him."

A respectable person must have an attendant or a companion of his own class or standard. The two princesses therefore kept the custom and remained on either side of the King's betrothed. She was a little older than the girls who admired her a great deal, for she was really a pretty woman indeed, "with eyes that looked like deep pools, and as shy as a doe". She had a full round face suggestive of the bloom into maidenhood, her breasts had just finished developing. On the right cheek she had a little scar that looked as if it were specially designed to be a beauty spot. She looked well-nourished in comparison with the average Swazi girl of her age, and whether this was the result of the treatment she had received since her arrival at the royal kraal or not, I could not tell. The curves of her youthful body were a little spoiled by a belly that protruded a little. The Swazi woman generally has not a lean stomach, protruding stomachs, noticeable in childhood diminish very little with the growth of the individual. My grandmother, who had lived in the royal kraal of Langaliɓalele, chief of the Hluɓi clan, used to tell me that half the beauty of a young girl lies in the shape and appearance of her belly, and she was very particular about what girls ate. To the Swazi and to many of the tribes in Africa that still wear tribal dress, beauty does not lie merely in facial features, but depends on every curve of her body.

When all was quiet at the kraal and the women were beginning to light evening fires, and the herd boys grazing their cattle towards the village, we followed the girls by car. The Paramount Chief was taking the girls halfway. I was not able to go with the girls to the actual cutting of the reeds,

[1] *Ingwenyama* means the great animal; the lion, the chief.

because, by custom, married women are not allowed to take part in this ceremony, so I asked one of the princesses who attends the Matapa National School to observe everything that took place so as to report to me all her experiences. I now give Princess Solwaphi's account of what happened.

"When we passed Manzini (Bremersdorp) it was already dark and we were still very far from Sidokodo where beautiful reeds grow. After passing Manzini we then proceeded to Mzimnene, to wait for the *Liphovela*, who was soon brought by car after some shopping at Bremersdorp. We started again, the road was rough, our feet were bruised by stone and gravel, and time and again some of us would tumble and fall as we were not used to the path. Finally we managed to reach the kraal that had been notified of our coming and here we rested till daybreak.

"It was dawn when we reached this kraal. We had travelled the whole afternoon and more than half the night. We did not move straight into the kraal, but waited outside singing to give the kraal inmates time to prepare for us. We were then called and went in groups to different huts, but we were so many that we filled up all available space and the bigger girls then volunteered to sleep outside. While we were waiting outside the kraal, Mahova the *Induna* of *Ingwenyama* who was solely responsible for the *Liphovela* and the princesses, sang praises of the *Ingwenyama* so that the people should be aware that we had the *Liphovela* of the *Ingwenyama*, and should make special preparations for her.

"We had hardly fallen asleep when the *Induna* sang praises and announced that the girls must all be up and go for reeds. We got up, still very tired indeed and moved on. The place seemed far because of our aching feet and lack of sleep. Other girls were so tired that they remained at the kraal and begged some of the young men who had accompanied us to cut reeds for them.

"The *Liphovela* and those princesses who were attending her did not actually cut reeds, the *eMajaha* (warriors) did all the cutting for them. This cutting is not easy because the reeds grow in water and if one is careless, one may slip into deep water. In some places it is marshy and the reeds grow so close that sometimes they form a platform which deceives the eye. You may think that it is safe to walk on it, but if you do so you will find yourself gradually going down. We always proceed with caution.

"When each girl has cut enough reeds to make a bundle of a size and weight that she can manage, she then looks for short, soft weaving grass with which to make rope. If there are trees around that are good for stripping, their bark will be used for tying instead. When we all sat down to make rope and tie our bundles, we felt so stiff that we realized just how hungry and tired we were. The little food we had was finished. At last we were ready to go, putting our bundles on our heads we went back to the kraal where we had spent the night.

"There we were very pleased to find that five beasts had been slaughtered for us. The *Induna* announced that all the girls must seat themselves according to their heads (*eMakhandza*,) so that meat would be distributed accordingly. So we sat in our respective groups ready for a feast. Four beasts were given to the maidens and the fifth was for the *Liphovela* and all the Princesses. We roasted and ate part of the meat at once because we were terribly hungry. Some of it was cooked and the rest we had to carry with us to Loßamba. All the girls cooked their own meat except the princesses whose food was prepared for them by the warriors. We slept at this kraal again and had a real rest, our journey back was going to be worse than our coming because we would be carrying heavy bundles all the way.

"Before sunrise we were up and cooking meat for our breakfast, and after eating we left for Loßamba. We could not go fast, now and again we put our loads down to rest. All those who felt that their bundles were too heavy gave away reeds to their younger sisters to make up their bundles. We had left Loßamba on a Thursday; now it was Saturday afternoon and we reached Bremersdorp long before sunset. As we passed the Nazarene Hospital the patients were so excited, those who could walk came out to watch us. We were so proud of our bundles. When we reached

the main road we had to rest because some wanted to go to town to buy fruit and sweets. We waited a long time before moving to Matapa about five miles away. At Matapa we rested again for we still had another eight miles through Lozitha to Loßamba.

"It was after sunset when we reached Matapa, and moving to Lozitha we found that food had been prepared for us. We had a good feast. When we left Lozitha it was so dark that those who had electric torches used them, especially when we crossed the Usutu river where it is about sixty yards wide. We could have slept at Lozitha because it was already late, but custom demands that the bundles must be brought to Loßamba in one continuous journey. We were now accustomed to our heavy bundles, and even though we walked four abreast others could not follow closely because the bundles are from twenty to twenty-five feet long, hence we formed a very long trail. We are always careful too not to damage any of the reeds because they may be disqualified when inspection takes place at Loßamba.

"From Lozitha we sang all the way to Loßamba where we found the kraal fast asleep. We then slept and early in the morning we went to the hot springs *(kaManzana)* to soak our sore feet and our tired bodies. *Manzana* is a real blessing; it does not matter how tired or sick one may be, after one has had a bath one feels nice, strong and fresh. Moreover one develops a keen appetite. We rested all Sunday. On Monday before sunrise, a voice announced that all the girls must go to the river, wash, dress and be ready for the *Umhlanga* dance. When we came back from our morning wash, we were told that after all there would be no dancing that day, but that it would commence the following day, Tuesday. We were disappointed because we were so keen to go and dance, moreover we had had enough rest. The reason why we could not dance was that most of the costumes for the Princesses were not ready. Beads and wool were used up and the *Ingwenyama* had to send a car to Bremersdorp for more stuff." Here ends the account of the journey as given by Solwaphi.

When I arrived at Loßamba on Monday morning I had expected great things, but I was disappointed to hear that there would be no dancing that day. I therefore went to the *Indunkulu*, Great Hut, to pay my respects to the Queen-mother. I learnt that the other group of girls that had gone to upper Usutu had been given two beasts to slaughter and the warrior who was responsible for this group was wearing two flesh bangles or rather wristlets on his left wrist. These were *tinyongo* (gall-bladders) which had to be displayed to show that the girls have had blood spilt in their honour. For every beast killed for a particular purpose, the person on whose behalf the beast has been slaughtered must take possession of the gall-bladder. If the beast is given to a group, then the leader or senior must wear it[1].

When the warrior with the gall-bladders came before the Queen-mother she wanted to know if he had brought any meat as was customary. The warrior then called one of the senior girls who had gone with the juniors to come and explain about the meat. She told the Queen-mother that there was no meat. At this the Queen-mother was alarmed and said: "How can it be, because every year your leader always brings a sample of the meat that has been slaughtered on behalf of the *Umhlanga* ceremony, and according to custom I always cut off a piece from the meat to take back the spirits (*kususa emadloti*) that have been guides all the way. This year things are really up-side-down. You should have known that. You must understand that it is not a question of just wanting to taste the meat, but it means that I must give you a blessing together with the spirits."

The girl said that she did not know this; she never took any notice of what her elder sisters did, besides, the *Induna* did not give her any meat for this observance. The Queen added: "Nothing can come right if you just carry the meat to your mother's store huts and neglect the guiding ancestral spirits."

[1] When the Transvaal team of the South Africa African Football Association came to play Swaziland on the 1st July 1950, the *Ingwenyama* gave them a beast to slaughter, and the manager of the Bantu Sports Club, Mr. Dan Twala, left for Johannesburg with the gall-bladder worn on his left wrist as a testimony that the team had a real welcome in Swaziland according to custom.

I left the presence of the Queen-mother and went outside the *Indlunkulu* fence to chat with some of the girls and take a few snaps. Many of the girls were idling, some were doing their hair while others were plaiting more ropes to tie up their bundles neatly for the official presentation to the Queen-mother. I wanted to help with the making of ropes so I asked one of the princesses to get me a mat to sit down. She replied that she was very sorry she could not do so, because she was not allowed by custom to go inside the *Indlunkulu* with her hair done up in mud. So I had to find a young boy to bring the mat. I asked the girl why she was not allowed inside the enclosure and she said: "*Mantombatana abudze ngeludaka kawangeni endlunkulu*" (Girls with mud in their hair should not go into the Great Hut). There is no specific reason given and I took it that in Western culture it would amount to saying that you would not expect any sensible woman to go about amongst important people and strangers with curlers in her hair. The important people in this case are the spirits that dwell in the spirit hut which is at the entrance of the *Indlunkulu* enclosure. The mud on the hair is a beauty preparation, the girls use it when they want to roll their hair into ringlets.

On Tuesday I was up early to go with the girls to the river and watch how they do their hair. I learnt that hair styles could be divided into five types, and although one cannot find exact demarcation between age-groups among the Swazi girls, yet the type of hair-style is enough to tell more or less at what stage of development a girl is.

First, there is a style called *Umcacatho*. The word comes from the stem *Cacatha* to press down something wet. This style is used by the very young. The leaves of the *udonqa* (Ceratotheca Tribola E. Mey.) are crushed and water added. With this juicy liquid the little girls press their hair up and down, then they move their hands in circles and the hair forms into tiny little tufts. The juice, besides coiling the hair, leaves the head very clean for it has cleansing properties.

The second style is *Umgayingo*. To "*gayinga*" means to roast something by burning it slowly next to a fire or to grind grain roughly. The same ingredient is used as in the *Umcacatho* style, but now because the hair is longer and you are about eleven years of age, you finish off by teasing the hair with a sharp little twig.

The third style, *Umhhoßo*, is for girls from fourteen to seventeen. The hair now hangs in ringlets of about six inches or so. The hair rolled up in river mud, is left to dry sometimes over night. When dry the girl shakes off the mud (*kuthintitha*,) then she greases her hair with oil. The skin of the head still retains some mud but as the rest of the hair is clean this mud does not show.

The fourth style, *Isihluthu*, means a thick bush of hair. This style is used by girls of marriageable age. The hair is allowed to grow very long and no mud is used. The hair is prepared by placing the head in fast running water or under a waterfall. The strength of the water teases out the hair and parts it; no comb is used. When the girl emerges from the water she gets *lukhwane* (water grass) and makes ribbons of it to tie down her hair flat on her forehead both to keep it in place and to stop it from shrinking.

Then there is a style called *Ingcugce*, for those who are engaged, or for those who may have fallen and have babies; they then become conspicuous by the manner of their hairstyle. The first stage of a coiffure is called "*Isicholo*.

The last style is that of the married woman. She wears a full *Isicholo* a coiffure, and with this style she must wear a kaross (*Isidwaßa*) and a skin apron (*Isidziya*). The *Ingcugce* does not wear these two articles of dress, she still wears the *emahhiya* (cloth).

As I stood on the edge of the Usutu river I watched the different groups of girls at their ablutions, grouped according to hair-styles. There were one or two girls carrying clay to the water's edge, while little ones came with leaves of *ludonqa* and started to "*cancatha*" their hair. Further on, a group of seniors were approaching a waterfall and feeling the water with their hands, remarking that it was so cold it might crack their skulls. Little by little they moved forward trying to push one another in, till finally one daring girl went in and all followed suit- what will a woman

not do to enhance her beauty! There was another group with small mirrors in their left hands, teasing away their hair with little sticks like Chinese chop sticks. When everybody had done her best to look pretty and the girls having had a bath, all moved back to Loßamba.

Hair-dressing was not complete, feathers had to come on with the costumes, and be arranged on each girl's head as a last touch. The feathers have to be treated in a special way. They are stuck in fresh cow-dung, and left there until they absorb moisture through the quill or rachis, then each feather is taken out and the rachis is scraped thin at the back nearer the tip; this causes the tip of the feather to curl. These curled feathers look very pretty arranged on the head in coronet fashion. The junior girls use only a few feathers according to age, say three for the eight year olds, one for the very small ones and two dozen or more for the *Liphovela* and the senior princesses.

A little after 2.0. p.m. there was great activity at the kraal. Mothers were dressing their daughters, putting finishing touches to the dance outfit. Although the dance costumes look next to nothing, yet the amount of work put into the making, fixing of decorations, matching of colours; the amount of enthusiasm, and good taste can only be compared with that of making a Paris creation.

Just as I entered the *Isigodlo*, the palace, my eyes rested on the *Liphovela* who was to capture the lime-light of the day. She was sitting quietly on a mat, with a shoe-box full of the scarlet and blue feathers of the *Ligwalagwala* (Knysna Lourie-Turacus corythaix) beside her. An *Induna* was selecting the best feathers to build up her headgear which was fan-like. He was making row upon row of feathers until almost the whole back of the head was covered.

She was the king's betrothed and thus had permission to wear the royal feathers and the royal beads (*Usimohlwane*).

I passed to the hut where Princess Ngwenyama's sister was finishing the woollen part of the costumes. She and her half-sisters, the aunts of the royal offspring, had worked day and night on the costumes of more than fifty girls. All the old costumes had to be examined and fitted on the girls, alterations made where necessary, worn out parts replaced, and new costumes designed. Some of the older girls had to have new costumes since they had outgrown their old ones, which were then renovated for their younger sisters. Other costumes had to be enlarged and used by the same girls. Faded costumes had to be given a bright touch with new wool. The Paramount Chief who delights in pretty costumes, spends money lavishly on the dressing of his daughters yet he keeps strict discipline and insists that every girl should know exactly what she needs so that all stock may be bought at the same time. When I was there a report came to the designer that one of the girls had an incomplete costume. The Ingwenyama ruled that she was to wear the costume as it was, as a lesson for next time.

The complete costume consists of:

(1) The headgear of *Igwalagwala* feathers for royal children, the *emaLangeni* (children-of-the-sun); feathers of any pretty bird for commoners.

(2) *Emashoßa*, black horse tails for commoners worn round the neck in bunches and drawn though a few large beads. For royal children, black giraffe tails in bundles pushed through sea-shells and a few beads. This neck wear is called "*lihudla*". Giraffe hair is very difficult to manage; it must first be soaked in very hot water before it becomes pliable. The ends of this neck ring are left to form disorderly tufts.

(3) *Umgaxo*, Bands of black material or wool slung over one shoulder and hanging sash-like. On this black foundation are sewn pompons ending in woollen tassels.

(4) *Isigqwashi* a loin cover of a broad frill-like band of bead-work attached to another belt that is completely studded with brass studs: this is about four inches broad. This covering fastens on the left side of the wearer from which hangs a pound or more of wool in various matching colours made into long thick loose strands caught up at intervals by pompons and finally ending in a cluster of pompons and

thick heavy tassels. These swing gracefully at the side and add beauty to the dance rhythm. Black was the dominating colour and other colours were matched against this background. The most popular shades were yellow, all shades of green, all shades of red, maroon, pink and blue. I never saw white.

(5) These side tassels are called *Umnjonjozela*. Their length depends on the height of the wearer; the tassels fall below the knees.

(6) *Emaqanda*, a long string of large beads worn round the waist above the *isidwashi* or *isigqwashi*. The beads are wound round the hips several times depending on the figure. A girl with a wasp-like waist would require about six rows, and one with a thick waist would wear 15 to 16 rows. Like feathers, little girls may wear only one or two rows according to sizes. The beads are expensive. A string of fifteen rows costs about three pounds. The colours used are yellow, blue, red or green.

(7) Strings of small beads are tied round the ankles, the usual colours are yellow, red and blue. Broad bracelets made of a mixture of small beads and large ones are also worn. For royal children the beads must be *Usimohlwane* (pink);for the background, then *Ungozi* (red); *Inkankane* (royal blue); *Ubisi* (opaque white), and *Imfibinga* (pink small size). For commoners any colour except the royal colours and patterns.

(8) *Mafahlawane*, rattles made of wattle bag-worms with some gravel in them. Girls usually wear a rattle on the left ankle.

(9) A small skin shield, say, a foot broad and a foot-and-a-half long. One girl had improvised a shield by shaping a calendar made of hard cardboard leaving the colourful decorations of the calendar as they are. One could not distinguish it from a real shield, until one came near.

(10) A bush-knife which each girl had used for cutting the reeds held in the right hand, others used empty electric torches to dance with instead.

There are many modifications in the making of costumes to suit every purse. Daughters of poor commoners use buttons instead of brass studs, and only a few ounces of wool to make the swinging tassels. Girls who came from the borders of Swaziland and Zululand were dressed only in a brief skirt of red cotton material, trimmed with a few rows of beads, called *Indiloko*, (a derivation from the Afrikaans word for 'petticoat'.) Above it they wore a bundle of grass strings called *lihlonga*. The strings were a dirty yellow and the skirts were faded. This did not look attractive at all. Daughters of chiefs sometimes wear on their heads the beautiful black feathers of the *Inkankane* bird, (ibis)[1]. The royal blue beads get their name from the colour of the feathers of this bird. Now-a-days these feathers are hard to get because there is a law against shooting the birds.

There was a senior girl with the *Isihluthu* head style as she was engaged to be married. This fact was made clear because instead of wearing the ordinary woollen tassel hanging down the left leg, she wore a bunch of ox-tails, *emashoba*, attached to a broad bead covered cloth, called *umntwana*, (a baby). The girl gives it a name and wears it until she becomes pregnant, then when the baby is born it is taken to pieces and its name given to the real child. When young men have their own dances they sometimes borrow from their prospective wives this form of adornment. A young man with a number of sweethearts will wear as many *abantwana* as he has sweethearts. Ordinarily the Swazi girl above ten years of age wears *emahhiya* made up of the following:

(1) *Lihhiya elikhulu*, a big cloth that covers the whole body.

(2) *Umhelwane*, a smaller cloth which covers only the top.

(3) *Isidwashi* two pieces worn to form a skirt fastening on opposite sides.

(4) A few beads on the ankles, wrists and neck.

When all the princesses were ready, an *Induna* ordered the girls to fetch the reeds which had been left outside the main arena. They rushed out going round the big cattle kraal of Lobamba. Approaching from the northern side, they carried

[1] (Hagedashia hagedash hagedash.)

their bundles on their heads to the entrance of the kraal, where they stood them on their ends forming lines, lifting them up and down in rhythm to their dance music. They sang:

Umhlambi wezinkomo,
Abantu bakaNgwane abanamhawu,
Inkosi yethu,
Benziwa kuhanjwa izizwe,
Sadliwa izizwe.
Indlu yezikhali,
Bayihlab'inkosi,
Ubozibambela ngamandla,
Nibabi, nibabi,
Nihanjwa izizwe.

English: The herd of cattle,
The people of Ngwane, they are merciless,
It is our King,
Because they mix with foreigners,
We were eaten up by foreigners.
House of weapons,
They speared the King,
You must use your force and strength,
You are bad, you are evil,
You mix with foreigners.

The girls sang this song repeatedly until the chorus became very exciting. Then the *Induna* who had gone with the girls brought out the heaviest bundle and planted it opposite the entrance of the *Isigodlo* (palace). The *Liphovela* came to claim it and then joined the group. The best bundles go to royalty. No commoner may make a bundle bigger than that of the *Liphovela*, that would be bad manners. After dancing for some time, she and her escorting princesses, moved forward gracefully keeping time with the dance, to throw their bundles first at the chosen spot. Then followed *Mashiqeni*, leader of the girls with her escorts, they too paraded before the crowd and likewise threw their bundles. The rest of the girls followed in rows four to six deep. As soon as the senior girls were finished the rest of the girls dashed forward simultaneously, dropping their bundles in a disorderly and dangerous fashion and running away laughing. One of the girls who fell had her face cut by reeds.

The audience, mostly women, mothers and relatives of the girls, had assembled outside, facing the cattle-kraal, while the girls formed a long line behind the cattle-kraal facing west. The Queen-mother sat near the entrance of the *Indlunkulu* (Great-hut). All royal consorts *emakhosikati* sat between the *Indlunkulu* and the *Isigodlo*; they could not sit where the Queen-mother was because the *Indlunkulu* side is taboo to them, they must *hlonipha* (avoid it).

The *Ingwenyama* with a small bodyguard was standing against the entrance into the cattle-kraal. The centre of the arena was opposite the Queen-mother, and the *Liphovela* occupied this position with all the senior princesses standing left and right of her in order of height and age, the bigger ones next to her. All the young girls who wore the first stage in hair-style formed a single row, facing their seniors, tall ones in the middle. Each line was crescentic. The *Liphovela* wore a cloth skirt, *Isidwashi*, made of a yellow floral material. Betrotheds of the *Ingwenyama's* senior sons were in the dance wearing the same type of skirts which fell just below the knees, their lower bodies were no longer for public admiration, they were betrothed. It is only young girls who appear in briefs.

The mothers, so excited about their daughters, had to suppress their emotions to begin with and allow the old ladies to dance round and pass comments on the blessedness of motherhood, and that child-birth is merely an act of stretching one's limbs (*kutala kutelula ematsambo*). Others would cry out that on such occasions, the woman who has never felt the pangs of child-birth is to be pitied. One woman from behind shouted to me: "Do sit down, we have not come to look at you, you do not understand about child-birth. We have come to watch our offspring, have you a daughter here?" I moved away to where some men were standing.

The girls started a new song and a new dance, and as they stamped they brandished their bush-knives and torches, their tassels swinging gracefully at their sides. The juniors dance forward,

moving towards their seniors and back again to where they started. The seniors danced the same way backwards and forwards, towards the Queen-mother. These are the words of the song :

Inkomo zaɓantu,
Setiya quɓula,
Yelaɓaɓ'inyoni,
Setiyaɓuɓula eDamu.
Chorus: *Ɓaɓe losenhla,*
Eye! Eye! Oho m-shi,
Yihlo useGwa.

English: The cattle of the people,
They are bellowing,
Oh, bird of my father
They are bellowing at Damu.[1]
Chorus: My father, up yonder.
Eye! Eye! Oho m-shi,
Your father is at the Vaal.

This song was sung for some time and the girls switched to another tune; this allowed them freer movements, so that groups of twos, fours, sixes or more would move from one wing of the arena straight to the opposite side in rhythm, passing in front of the Queen-mother. In this song the whole arena was full of activity, the girls really enjoyed themselves, swinging and stepping gracefully in groups, parting and meeting again in the centre and dancing towards the Queen-mother and back to their ranks. Everybody was seen. During this dance I saw a group of the juniors making their way past the seniors to where the Paramount Chief was sitting, and dancing for him. The words of the song are:

Ndinda nyoni,
Ayindindi, ayindindi,
Lezonyamazane,
EzeSilo,
Ndiza nyoni,
Ayi ndize lenyoni,
Lezonyamazane,
EzeSilo.

English: Wander, Oh bird!
The bird does not wander,
Those antelopes,
They are the Lion's.
Fly, Oh bird!
Let it fly, this bird,
Those antelopes,
They belong to the Lion.

So the girls wander up and down, and spring in the air like antelopes dancing all the time. This gives the audience a chance of admiring each girl in turn as the dancers move up, down and across the yard. At this stage admirers go up to the girls and show their appreciation by giving them small presents, say, an orange stuck on the tip of a bush-knife, or an extra feather stuck in the hair, a pin, money or a handkerchief. The Queen-mother sat with a bundle of feathers ready to pay compliments to her grandchildren, especially the younger ones. The royal consorts and sisters to the *Ingwenyama* paid their compliments to the *Liphovela* as the most popular girl of the day, they also paid compliments to their own daughters.

The song changed, and the rhythm changed, and the young warriors and even married men who are interested in having more than one wife, started moving their feet. The last song had given them the opportunity of fixing their admiration on particular individuals, so they now moved in groups parading before the girls and dancing towards those they wished to impress. Some of the men would join the line of girls and dance in their company for a while. The words of this song are:

Wathinta thina,
Wathing 'okaNdaɓ 'eHloɓane,
Uɓan' ongaxaɓana noNgwane ?
Kuvimb' uthathayi.
Inkosi ayivalelwa,
Bayivalele aɓeSuthu.

English: When you touch us,
You touch the son of Ndaɓa at Hloɓane.
Who can dare quarrel with Ngwane (Swazis)?
A bramble forms the hedge,
A King is never hedged off,
The Basotho have hedged him off.

[1] The Swazi name for Amsterdam.

The sun had gone down in the west, but no one noticed it. The dances were getting more and more heated; the dancers were drowned in the rhythm of the song and the spectators were lost in admiration. The little ones began to feel tired, and they started moving away to join their mothers at the sides. Little by little the numbers dwindled till finally the seniors stopped and moved towards the centre of the arena, forming a semi-circle in preparation for solo dancing. Mashiqeni Duße, the *induna* (chief officer) over all the girls began her solo-dance. As she danced she twisted herself about, praised herself and the girls showered compliments. A group danced towards her, covered her with their shields, praised her and moved back to their positions. The senior princesses who were not shy danced solo dances (*ukugiya*). It was getting dark, so girls and spectators departed, leaving the *emaLangeni* — Children of the Sun, still holding the floor. This name includes all the children of the *Ingwenyama*, those of his brothers, those of his own sons and his brothers' grandchildren. At this gathering they numbered about eighty, ranging from the ages of five to the age of marriage, all girls. This group went on dancing and marching around as if the dance had only just begun. They divided themselves into two teams, each with juniors in the lead and as they passed in front of the royal consorts, their mothers, words of admiration came from the group and the virtues of childbirth were praised once more. One woman, an aunt to the *Ingwenyama*, remarked that there was no nation or tribe with better children than those of *emaLangeni*, royal blood indeed.

The next day was the slaughtering of cattle, feasting, drinking and a farewell dance. This ceremony is the counterpart of the *Lusekwane* as described by Dr. Hilda Kuper in the chapter on the 'Drama of Kingship'[1]. She says that as in medieval legends knights without stain set forth in quest of the grail, so only pure youths may fetch *Lusekwane*. The Swazi believe that the tree was expressly made to distinguish the pure from the impure and that the journey is a test of endurance. The same principle holds for the *Umhlanga* ceremony.

No girl who knows herself to have met a man, or who is actually pregnant, dares to present herself to the Queen-mother, or to fetch *Umhlanga* which is used for enclosing the most sacred huts and wind-screens of the royal kraal; the sanctuary of the nation. No maiden would possibly be so brave as to appear in the traditional "briefs" displaying her breast and belly to the public unless she had a free conscience. If she was legally betrothed she would appear in the correct costume to distinguish herself from the rest.

Through dress and hair-style, each girl knows exactly where she belongs, she cannot 'play big' and try to imitate her superiors, she must be patient and wait until she passes through all the stages signifying the various age-grades before she can entertain any hopes of being admired by suitors. Dress is a very important social control for young girls, and feminine society was regulated by this outward symbol.

The Swazi deplore the introduction of Western dress because they say that no one can tell who is a child, a maiden, a marriageable woman, a bride or even somebody's wife. No one can tell who is a widow and who has a baby at the breast. Men therefore are tempted to make love to mothers, and classificatory daughters because they all look alike, and dress the same way, take part in the same activities, and behave the same way. I have already mentioned that I could not attend the cutting of the reeds because, being a Swazi by marriage, I was barred. A Swazi mother would never dance with her own daughter, nor frequent the haunts of young people; she must forever seek the company of women of her own status.

In arranging the dance, the Queen-mother's *Induna* sorted out the girls below the age of maturity and gave them their proper places. The youngest group was that of those who have no breasts, they were placed just in front of the Queen-mother but facing the opposite direction towards their seniors; these are the juniors who only go half-way to the Usutu river and wait overnight for the seniors to return and give them a share of the reeds. Their strength is half that of their sisters and this is depicted in their dance

[1] Kuper "An African Aristocracy" pp. 208–11.

as they move only half-way up the arena; half-way to meet their sisters and round about to go back towards the Queen-mother.

The little girls face the seniors to enable them to copy the correct step, rhythm and tune of the dance, taking word by word, the meaning of the song and admiring before them the whole beauty and splendour of maidenhood; wishing in their hearts that they too should grow fast and with untainted maidenhood till they reach the stage displayed before their eyes. Just as in the theatre and film world each has his or her favourite star, so these little girls pick out their own stars which they admire and wish inwardly to emulate.

The seniors on the other hand feel that they are the centre of attraction. Dressed in their best finery, they are the flower of the nation, and feel that it is good to be young and admired. They had not only come to honour the Queen-mother; herself the symbol of mystic womanhood, but they had also come to pay tribute in labour and in dedicating their purity and chastity to her. They stand unashamed before the nation, knowing that the laws of the tribe are there to protect them.

As this ceremony is the counterpart of the *Lusekwane* so the junior group of girls corresponds with that of the very young boys who are not allowed to go for '*lusekwane*' but are given the special duty of collecting the leaves of a certain shrub in the neighbourhood — *emacembe*. The Paramount Chief said that young boys are never encouraged to go out with the seniors to fetch '*lusekwane*' because that would be encouraging a feeling of manhood at too early an age in the development of the boys. Hence this grading has a specific purpose in society, it encourages normal growth, checks any abnormalities and allows for a gradual unfolding of the sex urge.

What surprised me about the ceremony of *Umhlanga* was that it did not attract as many young men as I had expected it would, not as many as one would find at a cinema show with a love picture in it. The audience was composed mainly of women; the mothers, grandmothers and aunts of these girls with a few young men who occupy the local barracks of Lobamba kraal. The young Swazi male did not seem to take advantage of this display of beauty. I suppose for the same reason that one would not expect to see a group of young men waiting along the beach to admire bathers in bathing costumes because the custom of such a dress has now become a familiar sight. The Bantu have always felt that a woman is a thing of beauty and therefore she must be seen to be admired, and her form of dress must be such that her whole figure can be easily discerned.

We find therefore that in this society, although there is no pronounced division of young females according to definite age-groups, yet there is a regulating factor in the form of dress, hair-style and duties in tribal ceremonies. Furthermore, age to these people is not a question of calendar years, but a question of physical development. It is true that there is no regimentation of young girls into *emabutso* (warrior detachments) as in the case of young men, still the divisions I have mentioned are well marked and fall under a definite pattern. The girls are under the direct control of the daughters of the *Izikhulu*, petty chiefs, who are also directly under the *Inkosatana yo-Mhlanga* (The Princess of the reeds) who is a symbol of maturity and carries out her instructions in the name of the Queen-mother and the Paramount Chief. The royal women have definite parts which they play in conjunction with the Queen-mother. *Umhlanga*, like the *Incwala* ceremony, is a national affair, even those young girl in far off districts who cannot get to Lobamba for the big ceremony, are recruited by the principal royal consorts in charge of one of the royal kraals in their neighbourhood. The girls must provide reeds for the royal village in their vicinity. The matron in charge of the kraal has powers to *memeta* — call to labour, in the name of the Queen-mother.

THE STUDY OF AFRICAN ABILITY

S. BIESHEUVEL

PART II

A SURVEY OF SOME RESEARCH PROBLEMS

SYNOPSIS

Before further comparative research is undertaken into African abilities, it would be as well to study them per se, within their own cultural context. Suggested subjects are: (1) *Mental development from birth to maturity, with special attention to the alleged check in mental growth at puberty.* (2) *Mental characteristics of African languages. These have an important influence on the process of thought and structure of the mind, a point often overlooked in the so-called "culture-free" intelligence tests, which involve logical thinking typical of Western European languages.* (3) *Musical Ability — Many African people excel in the ability to manipulate auditory relations, and a study of the nature and determinants of the mental processes involved would be rewarding.* (4) *Arts and Crafts — These have so far been studied chiefly from the cultural and aesthetic point of view. A psychological study of the manual and perceptual skills involved, their development and transferability outside their cultural context is required.* (5) *African Games — Some of these require perceptual and imaginal thinking of a high order, which may throw light on the capacity for quantitative and abstract thought of the African mind. These studies will indicate which aspects of mental function require more intensive research, and what kind of tests will prove useful research instruments.*

The testing of African occupational suitability presents fewer problems. Tests need not unravel the contributions of nature and nurture, but should measures individual adaptability and indicate available occupational skills and ceilings. The conditions to be satisfied by such tests are discussed in detail. For long-term planning of an educational system appropriate for African societies, it will of course be necessary to know the distribution of basic abilities and temperament qualities among African peoples.

Before proceeding with the construction of test for the systematic exploration of the abilities of Africans by means of factor analysis, it is desirable to plan a number of qualitative observational studies with psychological insight rather than with statistics as the analytic tool. The object of these studies should be to provide information on the habits of movement, manipulation, perception, thought, imagination and communication which are most common in African cultures. This information is needed for the following purposes :

(a) To determine which specific behaviour forms and mental functions should be subjected to more detailed studies by means of experimental and factorial methods.

(b) To ensure that abilities which are prominent in African culture, but which are relatively undeveloped in Western man, or which do not rank highly in his hierarchy of values, are not overlooked.

(c) To provide a basis for the construction of tests which will set intelligible tasks to African subjects.

(d) To give the necessary background knowledge for the interpretation of the experimental results. There will be little chance, for instance, of defining factors in a meaningful manner if a purely statistical approach is used and the cultural context of the behaviour analysed is overlooked or not properly understood.

OBSERVATIONAL AND ANALYTIC STUDIES OF AFRICAN MENTAL ABILITIES

Theoretical considerations, as well as practical knowledge of African cultural behaviour patterns, suggest that observational and analytic psychological studies should in the first instance be directed to the following aspects of African behaviour.

THE COURSE OF MENTAL DEVELOPMENT

In interpreting test performances of adolescent or adult Africans, we refer freely to the differential social conditioning to which they have been subjected, basing this on certain general characteristics of African tribal culture. Such generalizations have, however, little scientific validity. They should be preceded by detailed developmental studies, in which the stimulus situations both in the material and the social environment, to which the child is subjected from birth to maturity, are observationally analysed. Concurrently, a variety of developmental tests should be applied. For this purpose one could use either the techniques of Gesell and Bühler, or adapt their methods to meet African cultural circumstances. A wealth of information for the interpretation of the findings from subsequent factor studies would thus be provided, particularly with regard to the fundamental nature of the parameters used to describe African ability.

Research should also be directed to the frequently made assertion that the developmental history of the black and white races is approximately the same until puberty, after which mental growth rapidly decelerates in the case of the former.

Developmental studies of this kind will involve many years of painstaking field work ; but they are essential if the element of conjecture which has entered into the interpretation of past findings about cultural influences, is to be eliminated from future research work.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES

Thought processes proceed by means of percepts, images, and substitute activity in which overt and internal verbal responses play a predominant part. The characteristics of the language spoken by a people therefore determine to a very large extent the nature of their thought processes, particularly the extent to which these can function at the conceptual level. As thought is one of the principal means whereby man adjusts himself to his environment, it follows that the nature of this adjustment will differ according to the vocabulary and grammatical structure of his language. The effects will be noticeable, not only in his ideas and the shades of meaning which he can convey, but in the very manner in which he apprehends his environment. One has but to listen to the talk of the initiates into some subject or cult, like ballet, abstract art or cricket, to be persuaded of the validity of this contention and to realize that what they perceive and what the onlooker is aware of are two entirely different things. Fine discriminations are admittedly possible without the aid of words ; but the existence of a terminology is essential for their codification and for the establishment of relations between them which give rise to new insight and understanding.

It is important that this close connection between language, thought and awareness should be appreciated. Racial groups have frequently been stigmatised as of inferior mentality because their language habits prevented them from thinking in the same way, or from attending to the same things, as Western man. Yet the difference may be purely one of social conditioning, rather than of potential ability. Boas[20] has put this point so clearly that it is worth quoting in full:

> "In all tests based on language the effect of the linguistic experience of the subject plays an important part. Our whole sense experience is classified according to linguistic principles and our thought is deeply influenced by the classification of our experience. Often the scope of a concept expressed by a word determines the current of our thought and the categories which the grammatical form of the language compels us to express keep certain types of modality or connection before our minds. When language compels me to differentiate

sharply between elder and younger brother, between father's brother and mother's brother, directions of thought that our vaguer terms permit will be excluded. When the terms for son and brother's son are not distinguished the flow of thought may run in currents unexpected to us who differentiate clearly between these terms. When a language states clearly in every case the forms of objects, as round, long or flat ; or the instrumentality with which an action is done, as with the hand, with a knife, with a point ; or the source of knowledge of a statement, as observed, known by evidence or by hearsay, these forms may establish lines of association. Comparison of reactions of individuals that speak fundamentally distinct languages may, therefore, express the influence of language upon the current of thought, not any innate difference in the form of thought."

It has often been assumed by students of interracial differences in intelligence that when they have removed unfamiliarity with language medium by stating problems involving analogies, classifications, opposites, syllogisms, etc. in the form of pictures with appropriate cultural associations, the tests can be looked upon as culturally neutral. This overlooks the fact that the manner in which the problems are formulated and the thought processes required for their solution, like eduction of correlates and relations, are still characteristic of the Indo-European languages. Spearman's noegenetic laws of cognition, with which so much of our intelligence testing is in keeping, present a logical, rather than a psychological analysis of thought, which can hardly be divorced from the vocabulary and structure of these languages. People generally think as effectively as their cultural environment demands. If its requirements are low, this does not mean that the capacity to think at a more advanced level is equally low. This may be largely a matter of emancipation, opportunity or training. The boy who through economic circumstances has left school at an early age, and who has only learned to handle numbers through the symbolism of arithmetic, does not understand the language of the mathematician and consequently cannot solve problems which require its use. But the probability is that given familiarity with the symbolism and "grammar" of algebra and geometry, he would learn how to deal with his environment in this more effective manner.

In "Learning a European Language", Brown [21] describes the characteristics of the Akan language, spoken by nearly three million people on the Guinea Coast of West Africa. Though rich in nouns denoting particular objects, it is deficient in nouns denoting classes, general or abstract ideas, or any qualities divorced from the world of sense. Verbs also have a narrow range of meaning. "The scope of the English *to be* needs at least three Akan verbs to cover it : one for existence, another for identity and a third for classification." Coupled relationships cannot be easily expressed. "There is no easy way of distinguishing position in space ... as English does by the prepositions *in*, *inside*, *among*, *between*." "Similarly, for time, one preposition is usually employed to cover the distinctions that English makes by *at* night, *by* night, *in* the night, *during* the night." Brown considers that "Akan provides a vocabulary suitable to a practical, extroverted people, interested chiefly in sensible objects ... but not given, as the deficiency in class words shows, to scientific — still less, as the deficiency in abstract words shows, to philosophical — thought." He points out, however, that as a spoken language, its meaning is enhanced by gestures, facial expression, stress, pitch and tone of voice, as well as by evocative allusions to tribal lore and traditional formulae. He finally concludes that "Akan is a characteristic example of a language at an early stage of development and that, on the whole, it meets the actual needs of those whose native tongue it is. Whether it could meet their potential needs — whether the language is deficient because its speaker's thought is limited, or their thought is limited because the language is deficient — is a matter which would require more exhaustive examination. The fact, however, that Akan speakers make good doctors and lawyers and university lecturers, and that they have produced mathematicians of a high standard, suggests

that for some of them, at any rate, the language is no true index of the people's potentialities."

It would seem that no complete understanding of the thought processes of African peoples is possible without a psychological analysis of their language. From such a study one would gain an impression of the manner in which reality is apprehended, of the kind of symbolism which is used to represent it, what kind of linguistic or symbolical problem can be meaningful for particular language groups and by what processes these problems are solved. It will reveal alternate methods of effecting adjustments through perceptual regestalting or intuitive thinking, which can thereupon become the subject of detailed study. The extent to which entirely new and more advanced language habits can be acquired by various age groups, and the reciprocal relationship between language, culture and temperament, are problems which merit the early attention of research workers.

MUSICAL ABILITY

Many African peoples have outstanding musical ability, as performers, composers and makers of musical instruments. The gift for singing, which is common to all South African Bantu tribes is well known, though few Europeans appreciate the full extent of their vocal talent.

In the course of his studies of some aspects of African ability, carried out at a teacher training college in the Transvaal, Endemann [22] observed how a student, whilst working in the garden, would strike up a tentative tune which after a bit of experimenting would develop into a definite melody. Others would proceed to harmonise with this and before long they would be singing a new five part song. He also noticed that there was often an unfamiliar ring about the hymns which the boys were singing in their dormitory. When enquiring into this he found that they were harmonising with the first voice which was always sung by the girls, and therefore not heard when the boys were singing alone.

The outstanding musicians among the Southern Bantu are the M'chopi, who live mainly in the district of Zavala near the mouth of the Limpopo in Portuguese East Africa. Their music has been intensively studied by Tracey from whose work the following details were obtained.[23] Their principal instrument is the Timbila, a xylophone consisting of wooden slats and resonators made from hard shelled fruit and gourds. The Timbila may have as many as 19 notes covering more than two octaves, and is played by means of two beaters.' There are five different types, treble, alto, tenor, bass and double bass, played in orchestras which may number up to 30 instruments. The music is the central feature of a highly developed artistic effort in which lyrics and dances also play their part, somewhat like our own seventeenth century Chaconne and Passacaglia. Drums and rattles are the only other instruments in the M'chopi orchestra. The lyrics, which generally deal with topical matters, are composed first. Thereafter the composer finds a melody and then proceeds to pick out the harmonies ; variations are introduced after which the orchestral work gradually takes shape. The other players come in to develop the orchestral ground, an introduction which is purely orchestral is devised, the sequence of the movement is arranged and a coda completes the work. Thereafter the dance is composed and fitted to the music. Each work has from nine to eleven movements, and takes as a rule about forty-five minutes to perform.

The remarkable aspect of this whole procedure is that it is accomplished without the writing of a word or note on paper. The process of communal composition proceeds in an orderly fashion, all participants learn and remember the lengthy and difficult works without any written music, and the music, lyrics and dances are performed in perfect unison, in response to the leader. Tracey comments that "to hear an orchestra of twenty or more players performing with absolute assurance, improvising upon the theme or coming together in perfect unison, all without a conductor or any instructions other than their leader's *kuvelusa* (warning of change) is a grand musical experience. They seem to be controlled by a sixth sense, the gift apparently enjoyed by a flock of small birds which wheel and turn with lightning rapidity in any direction, yet without hesitation or indecision".[24] No psycho-

logical analysis of this artistic feat has so far been attempted, but it appears to involve a good deal more than a good ear (no extraneous aids are used for tuning), musical imagination and musical memory. The design of the work involves relational thinking though one does not know to what extent this thinking involves more than percepts, auditory and kinaesthetic images. Until such an analysis has been carried out, it is not possible to say whether the highly specific mental skills of the M'chopi musician could be adapted to other intellectual purposes.

Another feature of Timbila playing is the high degree of manual dexterity which it demands. Anyone who has watched the nimble and co-ordinated movements of the hands is bound to question the belief that Africans are unsuited for artisan training because of their inferior manual skill.

It is clear from this brief account that the study of African musical ability offers some highly promising lines of approach to the study of African ability generally. It is worth remarking, in passing, that certain aspects of musical ability are genetically determined and that its remarkable blossoming in the M'chopi people may well be related to the fact that they have had a relatively undisturbed history for about four centuries in their present domain and that they have not intermarried to any extent with neighbouring peoples.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

Detribalization and contact with the products of European civilization have caused the gradual disappearance of many of the indigenous arts and crafts of the African peoples. Sufficient remains, however, to enable one to study a variety of skills which have developed in particular cultures, the conditions which favour their growth and the mental abilities which are involved in their performance.

Thus in all tribal areas, and in rural districts generally, Africans still build their own houses according to a conventional plan, and with materials gathered on the spot. This construction involves measurement, judgments relating to levels, perpendicularity, rectangularity and other spatial relations. Studies should be carried out to determine to what extent the ability to make spatial judgments is general or specific to traditional tasks, such as the building of rectilinear, rondavel or beehive-shaped huts. We should also investigate how the necessary constructional skills are acquired. Similar studies could be made of the decorations on huts, pots, other household articles, garments and ornaments. Tribes tend to have their own conventions about the objects that are decorated, as well as their own traditional designs. Much could be learned about the appreciation of spatial relations, sense of balance and symmetry, the importance attached to accuracy of angles, distances and rectilinearity, the method whereby these are measured, and the extent to which all this is merely an appreciation of good shape, good continuation, and other phenomena of gestalt formation, with the conventional tribal pattern as one of the closure producing factors.

Many of the constructional activities call for manipulative skill and discriminative judgment of a very high order. This applies particularly to the construction of the M'chopi Timbila, which can be quoted as a good example of the very high degree of craftmanship which can be achieved by African people with a minimum of mechanical aids. The job is too complicated to be described here and those interested are referred to Tracey's study which contains a detailed account. It involves the choice of suitable woods, cutting the slats from which the notes are made, curing these by a process of heating, shaping them until they give a note of the right pitch and, most tricky task of all, boring the hole by which they are fastened to the supporting strings in the instrument. This has to be placed at the natural node where the musical vibrations are at their minimum. The making of the frame, though easier, is by no means straightforward. In its backbone, for instance, holes have to be bored and cut to lead exactly from a note to its resonator. Resonators have to be fixed with completely airtight joints, and each resonator must be provided with a vibrator which nasalizes the note. This is a very delicate job as it involves boring holes which vary in size from about

$\frac{5}{8}$ inch to $\frac{5}{16}$ inch for the bass and treble respectively, providing these with a wax nipple over which a membrane is fixed, generally made of the peritoneum of an ox, and surrounding the whole by a trumpet which rounds the note. All this is achieved by means of the simplest of instruments, and without any measurements at all. The Timbila maker "appears to work by eye, with the keen sense of the fitness of shape which their age-old craft has taught them. By this ingrained sense he tapers his wood where it needs tapering and guesses the gradually diminishing distances needed to set his notes in perfect line, each distance carefully set off to preserve a kind of balance."[25]

A psychological analysis of these skills, of the manner in which they are acquired, of the judgments which are involved in them and of the basic abilities into which they can be resolved, should prove a fascinating scientific undertaking. Again one is tempted to speculate to what extent one is dealing here with an organismic activity, in which the fitness of each action is determined by the complex image of the completed whole. Whether any of these skills could function by themselves, or in an entirely different context, is a point that requires to be investigated. It is obviously of great importance in relation to the occupational potentialities of Africans.

AFRICAN GAMES

There are a number of African intellectual games which provide points of psychological interest.

One of these games, Morabaraba, which is indigenous to Basutoland, has some resemblance both to draughts and to "noughts and crosses". It is played as a form of relaxation by men and boys only, always in the open, in courtyards or in the fields, at beer drinks or wherever tribal affairs are discussed. It consists essentially of the placing of draughts on a board consisting of three concentric squares, the corners of the outer two being joined by diagonal lines, whilst a vertical and a horizontal line, passing through the centre, cut right across the pattern. Each player has twelve draughts, which he attempts to place on the intersections of the pattern in such a way that three are in a straight line, when a score is recorded, and the opponent is penalised a number of draughts. There are a number of easier forms for boys and beginners, in which the patterns are simpler. The game involves an appreciation of spatial relations, not only perceptually but also imaginally, as good players have to think a long way ahead. An expert in Morabaraba enjoys great prestige in the community and is regarded as being intelligent.

It is interesting to note that the personnel selection centres set up by the National Institute for Personnel Research on the Witwatersrand gold mines are nicknamed "Emrabarabeni", because the tests are said to resemble the game in that they set a progressive series of problems, many of them involving spatial relations, which have to be solved by reasoning, foresight and planning. This provides a good example of the advantage to be gained from the utilization of culturally familiar situations and material as a medium through which to set test problems.

Another, rather more difficult game, is Inguva, which is played mainly by the East Coast tribes. Four rows of sixteen holes are scooped out in parallel lines in the ground. The players sit opposite one another. Each owns the two rows nearest to him. Two stones are placed in each hole. The general principle of the game is for each player in turn to move stones in a prescribed manner in proper sequence along his own rows, with the intention of getting to a particular coincidence of stones in opposite holes in his own and his opponent's inner rows which constitutes a score. The players must therefore be able to think in terms of numerical series, with spatial relations added as a further complicating factor. The successive patterns cannot be readily visualised and some abstract thinking is therefore likely to be involved ; but as no psychological analysis has so far been made, it is difficult to say by what mental processes the solution is planned. It might be useful to investigate whether those familiar with this game would more readily solve problems of the kind presented by the "Dominoes" or "Progressive Matrices" tests, whether they would have less difficulty than the

average African student with mathematics, and whether systematic training in these games would beneficially affect appreciation of spatial relations and capacity for abstract thought. Once again the interesting point would be to observe to what extent the abilities concerned could operate outside their original cultural context.

THE USE OF TESTS FOR PERSONNEL SELECTION, VOCATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Occupational training has a somewhat different, and even more important function for Africans than it has for Europeans. Vast numbers of Africans are still unfamiliar with the ways and habits of Western civilization and with the commonplace aspects of its material culture. Often, therefore, it is not practicable to impart the skills and knowledge needed for a particular job, until the work situation itself and its basic requirements have become more meaningful.

The situation which confronts the African recruit for the Witwatersrand gold mines on his first tour of duty provides a good example. Recruits come from all parts of South Africa, from Moçambique, Angola, South West Africa, the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. So many languages and dialects are represented in this labour force that communication, either among the labourers themselves, or between Africans and European overseers, would be impossible without some "lingua franca". This need is met by "fanakalo" (literally : "do it like this") a utilitarian language composed of English, Afrikaans and Xosa roots, the whole thing pronounced and spoken as if it were a Bantu language. It is readily acquired by newcomers, who on many mines are first taught the rudiments of it before they go underground.

The worker must next learn to recognize and remember his own identification numbers be taught the significance of certain standard signals and warnings; acquire new habits of safety and personal hygiene. In particular he must become conscious of moving trucks and haulage cables, and must learn to appreciate under what circumstances trucks will change the speed or direction of their movement. He must get to know the meaning, use and names of various simple tools and appliances. In many instances he even has to acquire the elementary movement habits involved in handling a shovel. All this has to happen before the newcomer can be taught the relatively unskilled work on which the majority of Africans are employed underground, such as sorting reef, lashing rock into cars, building timber or stonewall supports, laying tracks, assembling pipes and waterblasts, repairing trucks handling pneumatic drills or driving winches and locos.

Those who have had closer contact with Western culture and have been to school tend to experience analogous difficulties at other employment levels, where lack of background knowledge is often a handicap to progress. At the other extreme, for example, we find that African students at Universities in the Union of South Africa are handicapped in their studies because their school education has generally been rather meagre and limited to bare essentials, with the emphasis on passing examinations rather than on acquiring knowledge. The majority come from homes which can neither materially nor culturally supplement or reinforce what is provided in school. In the majority of cases, the educational level of the parents is soon surpassed by the children. Isolated among their own people, having little to gain from intercourse with fellow Africans in similar positions and prevented by the colour bar from full fellowship with educated white society, African students obviously do not receive the same stimulus for the full development of their potentialities as is enjoyed by the average University student. Their inadequacy is probably less a matter of ability to learn than of ability to grasp the full significance of the facts, which results from their integration into an organized body of knowledge. The capacity to do this depends on particular habits of study and thought, intellectual perspective, richness of associations, motivation, and to a very large extent, self-confidence and staying power. So often in the discussion of African ability these attitudinal

and character qualities are left out of account. It may be relatively easy to train Africans to an adequate level of manual skill, but far more difficult to inculcate the pride in good work and sense of responsibility which are the essence of good craftmanship.[26] This applies equally at the occupational level of the professions. Thus the high degree of personal integrity which is required for the proper practice of medicine cannot be acquired by assiduous attendance at lectures, crowned by a graduation ceremony. The attributes which arise from the incorporation into the individual character of the values inherent in Western culture, require the social participation and context of that culture for their full development. It requires considerable personal effort, superior ability and sound temperament to utilise the available opportunities for participation to the full.

Great use could therefore be made of aptitude tests to determine the general *adaptability* or trainability of Africans as they are to-day, provided that in addition to ability, personality factors such as interest, motivation, perseverance, social adjustment and leadership qualities are also taken into account. The value of such tests would be enhanced by the fact that there is very little occupational self-selection among Africans. An employer can make some use of knowledge about a white applicant's educational level and previous experience as a rough guide to his suitability for a particular job ; but this is rarely possible in the case of African recruits. Whether the traditional class distinctions in terms of tribal hierarchy have any occupational significance we do not know. Apart from a small intellectual and professional elite, the majority of Africans remain largely classless, educationally and occupationally undifferentiated. Whereas a group of whites, applying for employment as daily paid operatives in the iron and steel or engineering industries would represent a fairly narrow range of abilities, with the mean level of intelligence somewhere below the population mean and the educational level about the end of the primary school, native applicants for unskilled or semi-skilled work in those same industries would constitute a far more heterogeneous sample including many who, had they been given the opportunity, could have been trained to highly skilled work or could have qualified at a superior educational level. Even in the Union of South Africa where in practice, if not in theory, the range of employment for Africans is severely limited, this involves a waste of human ability and lowers the level of efficiency of native labour. Many who could be used on the more skilled duties which Africans are permitted to perform are doing unskilled manual labour, often without much liking for their work. Superior skill or supervisory ability are discovered on a trial and error basis, which inevitably means that many men of low ability are tried out in jobs for which they are quite unsuitable. This will have repercussions in those industries where wages have been laid down for the job, regardless of the race of the incumbent. Here white workers tend to be preferred, among other reasons because it is feared that an African may not be efficient at the wage as laid down.

In territories where there is no economic colour bar, where Western civilization has penetrated to a lesser extent and tribal culture has been less disturbed, the problem is of even greater magnitude. Workers are needed to an increasing extent for mining, industrial development, plantation farming, and the general commercial, technological and administrative expansion which follows in its wake. As in most cases there is no means of telling to what extent individual differences in potential ability exist among those recruited for this work, time will be wasted in training many who are unable to reach the standard of proficiency required ; ability will be wasted in using men on unskilled work who are capable of being trained for more skilled and responsible tasks, and overall productivity will be less than it could be, because human resources are not properly used. Perhaps this lack of a proper basis for occupational selection is one of the reasons why doubts are still expressed by objective observers of African affairs about the ability of Africans to meet the requirements of modern industry. Too many are tried out and fail or perform indifferently who would never have been

given a chance had there been some means of discrimination, and this experience inevitably leads to comparisons with white labour used in similar jobs which are unfavourable to Africans.

No less important would be the use of tests for educational guidance and to ensure that limited educational opportunities will be used to best advantage. African education is still in the developmental stage and its character and objectives remain to be defined. No finality can be reached until more is known about the basic abilities of Africans, about the future of their indigenous culture, and about the economic role which they will ultimately have to fill in their own territories. Whereas general literacy must obviously be one of the immediate aims of African education, beyond this stage there is no telling to what extent education should be vocational or academic, nor what the content of vocational training should be and how far it should be taken. As resources are few and needs are great it would be as well if, in the meantime, tests were used to determine at a very early stage which children have more than average capacity to benefit from academic training and which are likely to cope successfully with skilled work. The available vocational and academic training facilities could then be concentrated on groups known to have superior potentialities for skilled and technical, or clerical, administrative and professional work, thus producing a highly trained and competent body of people to meet the probable demand for this kind of personnel. The remainder could be given schooling at an elementary level, sufficient to ensure literacy for as many Africans as it is possible to reach and to provide a foundation for such later education or training as circumstances may permit and demand.

THE REQUIREMETS OF APTITUDE TESTS FOR USE WITH AFRICAN PEOPLES

An essential first step, basic both for personnel selection and for educational and vocational guidance is, therefore, the development of a series of aptitude tests to determine educability and trainability, both general and specific.

The measurement of the educational and occupational aptitudes of Africans as they are to-day, presents far fewer methodological problems than the study of their mental potentialities as a race. Because one is only concerned with individual differences and not with the differences between group means, none of the troublesome control group problems arise. Nor is it necessary to unravel the relative contribution of nature and nurture to test performance, in order to make sure that the tests do justice to the native endowment of the race.

For short term educational and occupational purposes we are not concerned with what could have been made of a man, had he been differently conditioned during his early childhood. The teacher and employer merely want to know how he can best be trained and utilised within the limits set by his cultural antecedents.

A testing procedure must therefore be designed which will give an accurate appraisal of a candidate's current skills, knowledge, ability, interests and motivation, and of the extent to which these can be developed to meet occupational and scholastic requirements.

In the construction of such tests, the cultural factor can nevertheless not be ignored. Tests which validly measure the suitability of white applicants for a particular job may fail to do so for African applicants who are potentially equally suitable. It may well be that a candidate does possess the skills required for a particular job, but that they do not come properly into action during the test because he has not understood what is required of him. His score may be low, not because the particular act of reasoning or abstraction required by the problem is beyond him, but because the assignment has been put to him through the medium of a foreign symbolism which he does not understand.

Culturally inappropriate tests tend greatly to limit the scatter of performances, and to skew distributions towards the lower end of the scale. Such individual differences in test performance as emerge may be the result of differences in culture contact rather than of ability. They would show low agreement with the actual differences in

ability as revealed on the job after training. In order to achieve high reliability and validity, the tests must therefore be designed to meet the requirements not only of the jobs and training courses, but also of the cultural attributes of the people for which they are intended. Briefly put, they should be "tailored" rather than "off the peg".

We shall confine our attention in this paper to the basic testing stage, which would have the limited objective of indicating :

(1) in which general class of occupation a candidate is likely to succeed (e.g. unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled, clerical, professional job families);

(2) what educational level he is capable of reaching (e.g. less than primary, primary, lower secondary, higher secondary, University level).

In designing tests for this purpose, appropriate to African peoples in their present state of development, the following technical points need to be considered:

1. THE TEST SHOULD BE CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE

This refers both to the form in which the test states the task to the subject and to the manner in which the subject has to respond. Verbal material cannot be used, firstly because the majority of Africans are illiterate, secondly because there are so many languages and dialects, often within the same geographical area, and so many disagreements about standard form and orthography that the construction of verbal tests would be a most laborious, if not impossible task.

The use of diagrams or pictures is inadvisable as the interpretation of this kind of material depends on conventions and associations which many African children do not acquire until they have been in close contact with Western civilization. This type of test content therefore often fails to evoke the correct interpretative attitude. When constructing tests for the classification of African mine workers, for example, we used the Koh's Blocks Test technique to make candidates reproduce pictures of culturally familiar objects, such as a native hut and an earthenware cooking pot, decorated with a conventional tribal pattern. Very few could identify the hut and a large number also failed to recognize the pot. The candidates apparently perceived them only as pieces of coloured cardboard. Some candidates would, with meticulous care, fit the blocks on the cardboard sample pattern, so that not a corner would project or a side be out of alignment, whilst reproduction of the pattern itself would be completely ignored. Other instances were encountered where pictures, though recognized, were looked at in a holistic manner, the candidates being apparently unable to break them down imaginatively into their constituent parts. An assignment which involved such analysis could therefore not be carried out.

Objections can also be raised against presenting a problem in the form of a pictorial analogy or classification. It was pointed out earlier in this paper that this kind of problem presupposes a particular kind of language development, without which it is not meaningful. If therefore capacity for reasoning has to be measured, this should be done through a more appropriate kind of symbolism; or if this cannot be done without the construction of a series of tests specific to the major African cultures, the capacity *to acquire* our form of generalization and abstraction should be measured.

Quite apart from representational difficulties, pencil and paper tests are in any case unsuitable, because the manipulation of a pencil and the convention of underlining or making a cross in a particular column may constitute a major problem in itself. Test scores then become a reflection of the speed with which these habits are acquired, more so than of the skills which the tester intended to measure.

There are other conventions, implicit in test assignments, which are by no means as self-evident to the African as to the white subject. In reproducing a pattern, candidates were often found to get the parts in their correct mutual relation, but the whole pattern would be inverted, or the assembly, instead of being superimposed

on the sample pattern, would be put at right angles across it. Yet in their own crafts these people were capable of exquisite designs, executed in an orderly manner. It would appear that this order is closely related to a particular cultural context and when this is removed, the candidate does not automatically acquire our spatial organization in terms of horizontal and vertical axes. The apparent insensitivity of African domestic servants to the angle at which they leave a picture on the wall after dusting it is a case in point.

Sometimes cultural habits cut across apparently straightforward motor responses in rather unexpected ways. The Harvard step test was used in an attempt to measure the endurance of African mineworkers. It proved unsuitable as many candidates would not keep to the staccato stepping rate imposed by a metronome, which is necessary for a standardised performance, but would introduce rhythms of their own or would carry out a brief dance-step when stepping on to or down from the platform.

Even greater difficulties are encountered when one assumes familiarity with certain drills, such as memorising. White children receive formal instruction in this throughout their schooling and fall readily into the required routine. The process is far less formal with Africans where one would expect it to proceed by means of spontaneous association and re-gestalting. It can therefore not be as readily turned on in the form of a drill. To make an African illiterate group understand that you want them to associate certain symbols and figures together is an arduous undertaking, in which we succeeded only by means of demonstrations in which the material was physically sorted and kept together.

A critical attitude towards current test procedures, in order that the assumptions implicit in them may be discovered, is therefore desirable when constructing aptitude tests for use with Africans.

2. THE TESTS SHOULD PROVIDE FOR THE MEASUREMENT OF LEARNING CAPACITY IN RELATION TO PRIMARY MENTAL ABILITIES

As Africans have to adapt themselves to new environmental demands and may have to acquire habits which have not developed to any extent within their own cultures, aptitude tests must do more than assess the current adequacy of skills and mental functions. Scope should be given for learning to take place as part of the test assignment. In designing an intelligence test for use purely within a particular cultural context, this precaution is not necessary. For the assumption is usually made that as the individual's current state of intellectual development reflects the extent to which he was able to grow under past environmental stimulation, it also indicates his capacity to make new adjustments in the future. When aptitude testing Africans, we are not measuring their ability in terms of their own cultural standards ; nor could we assume that the relative rate of growth which such a measurement revealed would remain unaltered when adaptation to an entirely different environment was required. What we need therefore is a "cross-cultural intelligence test", in which of necessity the capacity for transition must itself be included. We must be careful to measure this capacity only in relation to functions which have resulted from the action of a prolonged and slow developmental process on some primary mental ability, and which are not merely a knack which most people could acquire with suitable training, like solving cryptic cross word puzzles or playing cards. For unless the individual differences which occur in test performance will tend to persist as differences in ability after education, training and job experience, the test is not likely to have any predictive value.

Care must be taken, for example, to exclude from the test any assignment which is easy to everyone who has had some contact with Western civilization (e.g. in the form of elementary schooling) but difficult to those who have had no such contact. The association of numbers with the physical quantities they represent is a case in point. This test would give a bi-modal distribution in the kind of mixed group one is likely to encounter in many places, but no distribution at all, if all had had equal educational opportunities. It would therefore provide no information on

differences in associative learning ability, and the test could conceivably only be useful in the case where an employer wanted only people who could distinguish numbers and did not want to train them to do so. The kind of test to be aimed at, therefore, is an adaptability test in which the emphasis is on the ability to profit by experience, but in which the measurement of actual achievement in relation to certain skills should not be excluded, if it can be proved to have validity. To achieve this, the tests should provide for ampler demonstrations than is customary in aptitude testing. Demonstrations should be interspersed with practice and followed by a succession of scored attempts. Opportunity should also be provided for experience gained in one part of the test to be applied in the performance of a succeeding and more difficult part. A series of graded formboards or of problems of the kind presented in Alexander's Passalong test would be useful, provided provision were made for the correction of errors.

3. THE TESTS SHOULD BE SUITABLE FOR MASS APPLICATION, REGARDLESS OF GEOGRAPHICAL AREA

In order to implement the kind of aptitude testing programme for which there is a manifest need in Africa, the tests should be able to meet the following practical requirements:

(a) They must be suitable for mass administration.

(b) The test procedure should be simple and the scoring method objective, in order that the tests may be reliably applied in standard form by relatively untrained testers. It would be far too costly to use graduates with psychological training for this purpose, even if a sufficient number were available.

(c) As pencil and paper tests are not suitable for African subjects, performance tests will have to be used which must be cheap to construct, yet durable.

(d) Test administration must be through other than verbal means. It will not be practicable to apply the tests through the vernacular because:

(i) the cost of standardising the tests, even if only for the major languages in Southern Africa would be prohibitive, and the technical staff necessary for such a project is not available.

(ii) in many cases these languages would be imperfectly understood by the majority of people speaking one or other of their dialects.

(iii) even in the same geographic area mixed language groups would have to be tested, which would render test administration simultaneously through a number of language media a most complicated and impracticable task.

(e) The test procedure must provide scope for demonstrations.

Some of these conditions appear to be in conflict, either among themselves, or with some of the previously stated requirements.

Hitherto group tests have always been of the pencil and paper type. Group performance tests are virtually unknown, except for very small groups. Performance tests involving apparatus are always relatively expensive, more particularly if provision has to be made for learning as part of the test assignment. Whereas orthodox group tests can readily be applied in standard form by testers who have had little psychometric training, the need for such training increases when demonstrations have to be given under standard testing conditions. If verbal instructions cannot be used for test administration, mime appears at first sight to be the only alternative, which not only demands a higher degree of competence on the part of the tester, but also makes it more difficult to maintain test procedures in standard form.

This was the situation confronting the National Institute for Personnel Research, when it was commissioned by the Transvaal Chamber of Mines to construct tests for the classification of African labour, most of it primitive and tribal, recruited in all parts of the sub-continent, for employment on a migratory basis in the Wit-

watersrand gold mines. After considerable research, extending over a period of four years, suitable performance tests were designed, and a cinematographic testing technique was worked out, which satisfy all conditions of universality and which are being successfully used to deal with hundreds of men daily on an increasing number of mines.

The construction and validation of these tests is a technical matter which will be dealt with in papers and a monograph to be published elsewhere.

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BOOK REVIEW

Uŋkhoswe waaNyanja, B. E. Malekebu, edited by Guy Atkins O.U.P. for School of Oriental and African Studies, pp.124. London : 1952 4/–.

This is the first of a new series of Annotated African Texts, and is in Maŋanja of Nyasaland. The reading material, occupying pages 8–63, comprises a study of guardianship among the Southern Nyanja ; and though mainly sociological, the author has used an interesting system of dialogue to present it. Following the vernacular text are some 60 pages of notes by the editor, who acknowledges the part played in them by the author and Dr. H. Cikuse. In the notes, tones of all references are recorded. The notes are grammatical, lexicographical, as well as ethnological. Dr. Atkins makes an innovation in recording all verbs without the usual final vowel of the imperative or infinitive, thus : *–laŋg—*, *nyalap–*, *–bvundukul–*, *–guj– mútú* (nod the head), instead of the more usual *laŋga*, *nyalapa*, *bvundukula*, *guja*, etc.

The book is very attractively produced, well-bound, and should prove of great value to students of the language. We congratulate the "School" on this production, and look forward to other volumes in what should prove to be a most useful series.

C. M. D.

SAMSONIC SUICIDE OR SUICIDE OF REVENGE AMONG AFRICANS

M. D. W. JEFFREYS

SYNOPSIS

Durkheim's analysis of the suicides in European cultures showed that there were three types — the Egoistic the Altruistic and the Anomic. These types are conditioned by the general pattern of European society. African societies are patterned differently and a different type of suicide becomes manifest, namely suicides of revenge or as I have called them, Samsonic suicides, because Samson's suicide was one of revenge where by killing himself, he killed his enemies also. However, African suicides of revenge do not necessarily involve the destruction of one's enemies with the destruction of oneself. Many African suicides occur because (a) the suicide believes his ghost will torment his enemies; or (b) because he knows that his society will inflict penalties upon his enemies. Examples from Africa are then given to illustrate this type of suicide.

INTRODUCTION

Durkheim in his book *Suicide* (translated by J. A. Spaulding and G. Simpson, New York 1951) groups European suicides under three headings: the Egoistic, the Altruistic and the Anomic, as characteristic of patterns found in European culture. African culture patterns are differently oriented and consequently different patterns of suicide forms are found therein. In Africa suicide as a form of revenge is quite frequent and in this article I propose to call them Samsonic suicides, because the Biblical story of Samson's death gives the earliest historical description of a revenge type of suicide, "And Samson called unto the Lord, and said O Lord God, remember, I pray Thee and strengthen me, I pray Thee, only this once, O God, that I may be at once avenged of my two eyes. And Samson took hold of the two middle pillars upon which the house rested, and leaned upon them, the one with his right hand, and the other with his left. And Samson said let me die with the Philistines. And he bowed himself with all his might: and the house fell upon the Lords, and upon all the people that were therein. So the dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life". (Judges, Chap. 16. v. 28. and 30.)

This point of view of suicide, the Samsonic, where the suicide not only destroys himself but also his enemies has recently been discussed in America. "Cases of aggression turned against the self are apt not to be simple, since a certain amount of more or less direct aggression against others is likely to be involved. The hysteric with an ambivalent attitude of love and hate towards members of his family may have symptoms which injure them as well as himself. In American society suicide may harm others as well as the self. Among the Tikopia suicide is, according to Firth, the son's method of revenge, a threat which constantly serves to prevent tyrannical fathers from becoming too unjust". (Mannheim, K. Ed. 1940, 47).

Samson's suicide, though an act of revenge, does not conform strictly with the type of revenge suicide that I have in mind. The type I have in mind might be called institutionalised suicide. Kroeber (1948, 613) points out that there is such a thing as "institutionalised suicide . . . the culture not only defines certain situations that call for suicide but often indicates the correct way to execute it. . . . The Japanese hara-kiri . . . immediately rises to mind. This, with its special form of disembowelment, was formerly confined to nobles". Here is Japanese society prescribing a social sanction to avert shame and

disgrace and the manner of carrying it out. In he Trobriand Islands jumping from a coconut palm under the stimulus of shame is absurdly regarded by Malinowski, not as a social sanction enforced by the local social structure, but as a legal institution, an act of law: "It (suicide) is performed as an act of justice, not upon oneself, but upon some person of near kindred who has caused offence. As such it is one of the most important legal institutions among these natives". (Malinowski. 1916. 360). According to Malinowski "taking the law into one's own hands," which to any lawyer means the breaking of the law, is a legal institution! However, such a suicide is not one of revenge.

Suicide as an act of revenge has two origins, one based on a belief, the other based on knowledge of the social structure or else of the laws of the society in which one lives.

SUICIDES BASED ON GHOSTLY VENGEANCE

Revengeful suicides based on a belief are motivated as follows. "It is quite logical for those who think that ghosts have great power, to wish to become ghosts in order to attain ability to wreak vengeance. Among the Tlinkit a man committed suicide simply to make trouble for one who offended him. According to native custom, if a person commits suicide because someone has offended him or opposed a wish of his, heavy damages or a life must be given to the tribe of the suicide by the tribe of the one giving the offence. So suicide is sometimes resorted to in order to harass and burden others. The threat of suicide is sometimes used as a bluff to get one's way. Slaves in Brazil commit suicide in order to do pecuniary harm to their owners by way of revenge." (Sumner and Keller. 1942, IV. 262). Suicide as an act of ghostly revenge is recognized as a social sanction and is touched on by Sumner and Keller (1946, I, 641). "A curious form of retaliation is suicide. To understand how anyone might take recourse to this method which seems to us with our ideas and traditions, exactly the way not to do it, one must bear in mind that all peoples do not share our convictions about the sanctity and worth of earthly existence, while they possess a faith in their beliefs about the next life which, however loudly we may profess it, we do not exhibit. Their faith is, at any rate, strong enough to act upon and it does not seem to them that they are taking chances. If a person is not powerful enough to avenge himself in life, he believes that as a ghost he will be able to do so; and thus believing, threatens suicide. Since the individual whom he menaces shares his beliefs quite unshakenly, the threat is often sufficient to secure redress; but if not, there is no hesitancy about carrying it out. This is a sort of post mortem retaliation." Frazer also makes mention of suicides of revenge (Frazer. 1930, IV, 141). That "the dead are universally treated as of higher rank than the living" (Hocart. 1948. V. 23) is the practice in India. The same outlook is found in Africa, hence the possibility of revenge by committing suicide is accepted in many tribes. Thus Vedder (1928, 198) writing of the Herero of South West Africa, says : "Suicide may also be an act of revenge. The person who commits suicide is actuated by the thought that the dead are capable of bringing about evil and death more effectively than the living. According to old custom suicide is committed by strangulation in this way: a thong is tied round the neck and the suicide fastens himself close to the central pillar of the house with it and lying on the ground twists himself round and round energetically until the windpipe is frayed through. Another manner is this: the tongue is pressed into the pharynx with a forcible squeeze of the thumb so that the ligament of the tongue is torn off and the windpipe closed up. After they (the Hereroes) had become acquainted with rifles suicide was committed by means of a bullet." This same belief and this same practice is found in Tanganyika territory. "When a man has a grievance, and receives no redress, he will, as a final resort, go before the wrongdoer and say, 'I shall commit suicide, and rise up as an evil spirit to torment you' ". (Gouldsbury and Sheane. 1911, 85).

SUICIDES BASED ON SOCIETAL REPRISALS

The efficacy of such suicides depends upon a belief but the vagueness of a ghostly reprisal is replaced by certain knowledge in those social structures that inflict on the provoker a penalty. In such societies the suicide knows, he has no need of a belief, that his death will be revenged on the alleged provoker by society mulcting the latter in damages or in compensation. Such societies therefore provide a patterned suicide and, out of a motive of revenge, suicides arise which, but for this patterning, would not otherwise occur. Among the Tshi: "should a person commit suicide, and before so doing attribute the act to the conduct of another person, that other person is required by native law to undergo a like fate. This practice is termed 'killing oneself upon the head of another', and the person whose conduct is supposed to have driven the suicide to commit the rash act, is visited with a death of an exactly similar nature. Such suicides are rare and the family of the suicide generally forego their right to the death of the person indicated as the cause of the calamity, receiving money damages instead." (Ellis. 1887, 302).

Among the Kassena of the Northern territories of the Gold Coast an instance where both ghostly and social penalties arise as a result of a suicide is reported: "Cruel enough as they all are to thieves, they are not unkind to their wives or their children. Fear prompts this kindness. No one is afraid to die in a moment of temper, and a woman will frequently stab herself with a poisoned arrow. Such a catastrophe would almost ruin the husband. There are all manner of spirits to pacify, spirits to cleanse as well as outraged relatives to appease." (Cardinall, 1920, 77).

Among the Ashanti, because of a highly organized political structures suicides of revenge were a recognized and common form of getting even with an enemy: "Another description of suicide is when a man deprives himself of life in revenge against an opponent, while any matter where justice is concerned may be pending: in this case, the party is said to have killed himself upon the head of his oppressor, who seldom escapes the retaliation of the law without a pecuniary fine to the state, and other disbursements among the courtiers." (Dupuis, 1824, 238).

From the Congo comes the following case: "A man living at Nkondo, a village in the Ngombe district, was very ill, in fact near to death, and did not desire to leave his property — trade goods, cloths, guns, gunpowder, etc. — to his relatives, for he regarded them with much hatred. So he made up his mind to burn down the house containing his goods. He waited for an opportunity, and one night when five persons — three adults and two children — were sleeping in the house, he locked the door, set fire to the structure, and rolled himself in his blanket to await the end. The dry grass of the hut burned like tinder and the powder, catching fire, caused a tremendous explosion. Only one man escaped. The family of the two children demanded and received, compensation for their death from the suicide's family. The adults who were killed belonged to his family. Whatever the reason for his grievance against his family, he had a terrible revenge."

Among the Bavenda there exists a legal mechanism, the chief's court, which will punish the person alleged to be the cause of the suicide: "If a man commits suicide all the relatives are called to the chief's village to determine the cause of the 'tragedy.' It is considered that no man would take his life without some outside provocation, and so the death is regarded as a form of murder. If no adequate explanation is forthcoming the suicide's wives and property are confiscated to protect the rest of the family and enforce the culprit to declare himself. If on consultation with a diviner, the death is discovered to be the work of a spirit, the property is returned, the chief keeping two oxen as payment for his trouble." (Stayt, 1931, 163).

Among the Yoruba: "should a man or woman be provoked to commit suicide, the provoker is held responsible for the same. The penalty is a very heavy fine to be paid to the family of the victim or forfeiture of the provoker's life. The corpse of the suicide is not buried, but is removed to the house of the provoker till the judgement

shall have been satisfied; then the corpse is taken over by the family, who bury it according to the rites and ceremonies for the burial of suicides." (Ajisafe, 1924, 32).

In East Africa suicide as a means of revenge by starting a blood feud is found. "A young man one day had a violent quarrel with his own mother while cultivating, and eventually beat her with a stick. She ran crying to a village near by, and one of the elders came out and gave the young fellow a thrashing; to everyone's astonishment the young man hanged himself that afternoon and the people of the vicinity told my agent, who went to enquire into it, that he had committed suicide so that his blood relations might lay his death at the door of the elder, and thus start a blood feud against him." (Hobbly, 1923. xxxiii, 358).

Suicide as an act of aggression against society is fairly common in Africa. "If a Bagesu wife hanged herself in her house, her husband was accused of being the cause. He was despoiled of all his possessions and his house was broken down." (Roscoe, 1924, 41). It was quite clear that a threat of suicide by one of his wives acted as a strong deterrent towards a husband's unkindness or harshness.

"It is by no means an uncommon thing for a man among the Lamba when he has had a quarrel to go and commit suicide, knowing full well that his death will be requited by his relatives at the hand of the man with whom he quarrelled. The survivor, the cause of his death, is charged with murder. So that a threat of suicide is usually sufficient to cause one's opponent to desist." (Doke, 1923–26, 39). In these instances the threat of a Samsonic suicide acts as a form of social control. Instances where the dual motive for revenge i.e. as a spirit and as setting in motion the mulcting machinery of society is also found.

"The ghost of anyone among the Bakitara who had been wrongfully accused and had committed suicide was very dangerous, even the ghost of a woman being feared under these circumstances. A woman who had been wrongfully accused of adultery would go and hang herself, and her ghost would then be a malignant influence. Her body was buried as near the place of her death as possible that the ghost might be destroyed or confined to that locality. If she hanged herself on a tree, the body was buried just clear of the roots, the tree was cut down and its root dug up; the whole was then burned to ashes and the relatives had to pay ample compensation to the chief on whose land the deed had been done." (Roscoe, 1923, 42).

One of the most illuminating instances where society by providing a punishment for suicide and therefore encourages the Samsonic suicide comes from the Bamum tribe of the French Cameroons. This tribe had a genius as a king, one Njoya who after inventing his own script set a number of his scribes to write out the *Laws and History of his people.* I have an unpublished English translation of this document and I now quote chapter 38 thereof. "If a man hangs himself in a Bamum village then the village head must give a slave to the King, 3,000 cowries to Tangwa (a court official), and 600 to his assistant. The reason that a slave is given to the King is because the man, being under the control of the village head, must have suffered some injury from him, otherwise the man would not have hanged himself. All people in the land belong to the King. So the giving of the slave is compensation for the loss of a subject of the King in the town of the village head.

"If a person hangs himself in the settlement of the King's slave then 10,000 cowries must be paid to the King, 3,000 to the people's intermediary: one fowl and a dagger to the Muŋgu House. If the hanging occurs in the settlement of a royal consort the payment is one fowl and a dagger to the Muŋgu House." (Njoya, 1913)?

This concept of suicide that the person is the property of the king and hence some one must be held responsible for his death is also found among the Ewe speaking people of the Gold Coast. "In Dahomi it is criminal to attempt to commit suicide, because every man is the property of the king. The bodies of suicides are exposed to publish execration, and the head is always struck off and sent to Agbormi, at the expense of the family, if the suicide were a free man, and

at that of the master, if he were a slave." (Ellis, 1890, 224).

This outlook was parallelled in English law at one time when suicide so far from being, "an important legal institution" is called *Felo de se* i.e. a felon with respect to oneself. The body was disgraced by being buried at four cross roads with a stake through its middle. The object was to pin down the suicide's ghost. No burial service was conducted and, as a felon, the suicide's property was escheat to the crown. Such legal consequences might induce a person to commit a revengeful suicide in order to bring disgrace upon his family and to deprive them of enjoying the succesion to his property. It is thus clear that in societies where suicide, so far from being Malinowski's legal institution, is punished as a breach either of the social structure or of law, the usual type of suicide is that of revenge and is a product of a culture.

Suicides of revenge would not arise if (a) a belief in the power of the ghost to torment the living provoker did not exist; or (b) if either the social structure or the law of the chief's courts did not impose a penalty on the provoker. So far as I am aware nothing has been written on this type or aspect of suicide.

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KIKUYU TALES

C. CAGNOLO

PART II

9. THE CATTLE IN THE AIR

Five men set off one day with a large herd of cattle which they wished to slaughter and eat somewhere where they would be free from flies. One of them was poor and had nothing to slaughter, but hearing of the plan of his friends he provided himself with a quiver and filled it with flies. When the first bull was slaughtered, he opened stealthily the quiver and let out some flies which went straight to the meat. His friends seeing the flies abandoned the meat and went further looking for another place where there were no flies.[1] The poor man stopped, ate the meat and had his fill. When the meat was finished, he followed his friends further and repeated the trick. When only one bull was left, the poor man no longer let his flies out of the quiver. "We have been hungry for several days, at last we have found a place where there are no flies, but where can we find fire?" They looked round and discovered a hut very far away, where smoke was rising. "There is fire," said one of them, "I will go and see." Arriving at the hut, he found an ugly old woman: she was a man-eater.

Mother, have you any fire in your hut?

Yes, I have; take it out of the ashes and when all is ready, tell me, because I wish to give you also some bananas. The man took some fire and called the old woman. The latter entered the hut with a sharp knife and cut the man's head off, and threw him on the trellis.

His friends in the meantime grew impatient at the delay. Another decided to go to the hut where the fire had been seen and find what was the matter, but the unhappy man met the same fate as the first. The third and fourth followed them and all of them ended likewise. Then the last one came cautiously along. He also asked the ugly old woman for fire and was given the same answer. He entered the hut and took some fire ; but while he was busy at the coals, he saw blood dripping from above ; he startled and saw with horror the beheaded bodies of his friends.

"Ah! the old wretch!" he whispered to himself, "she has killed my friends and now wishes to kill me too. You shall not catch me!" He took from the fire a burning brand and called the woman to come and give the promised bananas. As soon as she appeared at the door of the hut, he quickly drove the firebrand into her eyes, so that she fell to the ground, and he ran away.

When the old woman recovered, she pursued him in a frenzy. She threw a knife after him, which falling down, razed to the ground a whole forest. She shouted in fury, threw into the air other knives which looked like flashes of lightning; but she was unable to reach the flying man.

Tired and panting she went back to her hut uttering imprecations and curses against the fugitive. The latter in his flight missed the place where the bull had been slaughtered. Dead tired he sat down thinking on the danger escaped and how he could stand his hunger in that desert. Looking round he saw another hut and made for it. He found a calf tied to a pole, and a calabash of milk. He opened the calabash and drank some milk.

The calf spoke and said: "Who are you who drinks the milk of my mother?"

[1] It is a query how the actors of this tale insist on being free from flies. The Akikuyu generally do not bother very much about flies soiling their food. The eyes and the nostrils of children are often covered with swarms of flies. Many diseases are transferred from one to another by infected flies. Now-a-days they are hygiene conscious and people realize the danger of flies. Probably the narrators too try to modify their stories according to the new mentality.

It is myself . . . I have drunk it because I was very hungry.

You shall milk my mother, because up to the present she always milked herself.

"I am very willing", answered the man. At that point arrived the cow, the mother of the calf. It had not been visible before, because she fed in the air. The man was frightened and hid himself. The calf informed his mother what had happened and the cow called the man and told him: "Come, I shall do you no harm; I want only one thing from you: that you milk me. I tell you one more thing: you must not look in the air, because there is my grazing; but the day you wish to look in the air, you must build a large enclosure here in the courtyard and you will see wonders".

Before long the man set about building the enclosure[1] and worked unceasingly at it for five days. The sixth day he looked upward. The cow came down at once and died instantly. After the death of the cow, an endless quantity of cattle and goats appeared which filled up the enclosure. Moreover all the friends who had been killed by the termagant came to life again. There was great rejoicing. They decided to go back at once to their homes with all the herd, thanking God for having blessed them so much in their adventure.

10. THE DAUGHTER OF THE SUN

Sixty youths of a certain village one day heard that no girl in the world was as beautiful as the daughter of the Sun. "If we do not obtain her for our own," they said, "we shall always be degenerate sons of the stock of Ichagatae."

They agreed that within three days they should procure enough food for a long journey, because they would go to find the girl. Among them there was a youth crippled and weak who also made his preparations, and all started for the new adventure.

They arrived at a forest and entering it they found a hut. They asked: Where is the house of the Sun ?

—Very far away: it will take you a full month's walk to get there.

Some of them lost courage and sixteen of them decided to go back, forty-four going on. They walked for twenty-four days. Thirty-four more, having exhausted their supply of food, decided to go back; ten were left to continue the journey. They walked until they arrived at another forest and inquired again where the house of the Sun was.

"It is there," they were told, "among those hills spotted with black". The lads became afraid of the distance and the majority decided to give up the enterprise. One only persisted in his purpose and he was the cripple. The following morning he resumed his journey in that direction. After a long walk he arrived in the neighbourhood and inquired for the house of the Sun. On his arrival he met the Sun himself who first addressed him: Who are you ?

—I am Getare.

—Where are you going ?

—I have come to you and I am your guest.

—What do you wish ?

—I wish to marry your daughter.

—All right! Look at that lake. Do you see that ostrich feather in the middle of the water ?

—Yes, I do.

—Now, reach there and bring it to me. If you succeed in bringing it, I shall give you my daughter and one third of all my possessions.

The youth rejoiced in his heart on hearing the proposal and went to the task . . . He could reach the middle of the lake very easily and grasped the ostrich feather, but the feather resisted and he was unable to tear it off the bottom into which it was driven very fast. Tired and dejected he went back to the shore. . . He attempted the task a second time and resolved to make use of all his strength. He tried and tried again. At last the feather was torn away from the bottom. In an instant all the water of the lake turned

[1] Kikuyu live-stock is never sheltered in proper houses or sheds resembling the European stables. They are enclosed in large or small stockades of poles and thorny branches to protect them from the wild beasts. The animals are left unsheltered in dry and wet season alike.

into blood. He became afraid and hastened swimming to the shore holding fast in his hand the precious feather. When the Sun saw him coming with the feather in his hands, he was greatly astonished and said:

Were you able to pull it out ?

Yes, here it is according to your wish.

You are a cripple, nevertheless you have been able to pull this feather away while many others were unable.

It is true : it is my ancestor's legacy that I alone would be able to pull this feather out of the lake, as also it was decided since her birth that your daughter would not be married to any other boy, but only to me.

"Come along", said the Sun, "I want to give you my daughter and the third of my property as I promised you. Though you are a cripple, you showed yourself superior to many other strong and sturdy fellows. God bless you and may you have happiness with your wife and children".

11. NJERI THE HEROINE

The sun had been shining for many months and there were no signs of approaching rain. The spectre of drought and famine[1] stood ever before the eyes of the Akikuyu. The elders consulted the most famous witch-doctors and all of them said that rain would fall only after Njeri has been sacrificed in the lake.

They taxed themselves one goat each and with the herd thus collected went to Njeri's father to buy her. The girl was taken to the lake and she addressed her father: "Father, have you really said that Njeri must perish in the lake, so that the rain may come in our country ? Come, rain, and let the people be saved". And the water reached her ankles.

"Mother," she said, "have you really said that Njeri must perish in the lake, so that rain may fall and save the people ? Come, rain, and let the people be saved". And the water reached her knees.

"My uncle, have you really said that Njeri must perish in the lake, so that rain may fall on our country ? Come, rain, and save the people". And the water reached her waist.

"My grandfather," added she, "have you really said that Njeri must perish in the lake, so that rain may fall ? Come, rain, and let the people be saved". And the water reached her breast.

"My aunt," she said at last, "have you really said that Njeri must perish in the lake, so that rain may fall ? Come, rain, and let the people be saved". And the water rose up to her neck.

"Be happy," continued the heroine, "I am Njeri and I perish in the lake. Come, rain, and let the people be saved". And she disappeared.

The following day the youth who loved her went to the lake and struck the water with a rod saying: "Is it not here that my Njeri perished" ? The elders answered him: "Yes, it is there, but do not strike like that because your sweetheart is sleeping there. Go and bring a he-goat and a black spotted sheep; we shall sacrifice them and you shall eat a leg and a shoulder of the victims".

The same evening the sacrifice was offered; the youth struck the water again and Njeri appeared on the shore more beautiful than ever. Beaming with joy the youth took her to her mother and shortly after he married her.

12 THE FROG AND THE CHAMELEON

One day a frog emerged from the surface of a little pond and looking around with its two big eyes, discovered a large stone in the warm sun-

[1] In the Kikuyu country rain is vital. It is a hilly country and although intersected by many rivers, irrigation is almost impracticable. The Akikuyu have their own rain-makers, but very seldom do they succeed to combine their operations with the suitability of the weather. The older generation and the middle-aged remember only too well the disastrous droughts with the consequent famine on such and such date which remained famous in the history of the tribe and serve as starting points in reckoning the events of the country. The following are the names of famines which occurred in the country and are often mentioned by the natives in their conversations:

Famine of Kemotho in 1917
Famine of the Kanoria in 1910
Famine of Europe in 1901
Famine of the necklaces in 1884
Famine of the Kemorori in 1864
Famine of the small bones in 1852.

With the intervention of the British Government the disastrous consequences of drought now may be avoided, but hardship in such circumstances is still unavoidable.

shine. "The water is so cold to-day" ... it said, "I think it is better to bask in the sun for a little while on that stone". It therefore left the water with great calm and crouched on the tepid stone.

After some time a girl, by name Ngema, came to the pond to fetch some water. The frog remained on the stone quite unconcerned. The girl wondered and said: "This frog must be sick." The frog then spoke and said: "What are you saying? Do you think I am a lazy creature? Why did you say I am sick? Don't you see how strong I am?" and in saying so, stretched up on its four legs like a spring. "I am a good youngster with plenty of cattle and goats to buy a beautiful girl." The eyes of the girl grew big with wonder and she said: "I didn't know that you could speak. Usually the other frogs plunge very swiftly into the water at the approach of men, but you didn't even give way for me; that is why I said you must be sick." The frog said: "I am not sick. Listen to me. I was born here in this very place. A dying curse rests on me. When the last hour came for my father, he told me: 'You will spend most of your time in this place. One day you will meet a girl here. You will ask her to marry you. If she accepts, it will mean happiness for both of you, but if she refuses, she will die' .Now, it is up to you to live or to die". The girl set to thinking hard and after a while she answered: "If that curse rests on you, it rests on me as well. I don't want to die while I am still so young. There is a great difference between death and circumcision!" So the girl agreed to marry the frog. The frog asked: "Won't you show me your home and your parents?" "Surely, come along" and off they went. While on the road, the girl looked at it with surprise and said: "I am puzzled about your way of walking".

—Well, what is the difference? What do you see wrong in me?

—Why do you bend so much forward in your walking?

—Quite natural. My country is very hilly and so we get accustomed to walk like that from our early years, you see.

—But you have no buttocks.

—It is rather strange that you do not see them. It is our custom when we are travelling to keep our buttocks very close together, so that they do not shake too much.

While still chatting about one thing and another, they arrived at the girl's home. In the courtyard of the homestead there was a beautiful tree. Between the leaves of its branches stood a chameleon. When the girl arrived he started to move slowly and cautiously, descending from branch to branch, turning his round little eyes forward and backward until he succeeded in approaching the girl. Then he ventured to speak and woo her. The girl said: "Since you began to move from the upper branch, I was looking at how slowly you walked down. Do you know how long you took to reach me?" The chameleon said: "Don't you know that I am a stranger here? Had I rushed into this house, people would have been alarmed and asked: who is there? Instead I didn't disturb anybody and now we can talk quietly without anyone interfering with us. Listen now. I came very early this morning and I was very anxious to meet you. I feel a great attraction for you. Let me tell you the whole truth. I love you from the bottom of my heart, and I am asking you if you will accept to become my wife". The girl remained silent for a little while and said: "I cannot become the wife of people who go so slowly". The chameleon said: "Clever people do not make a great noise when absorbed in their own business. Our elders say: 'empty gourds make a great noise'. But you have not yet answered my question. Tell me, my dear, won't you become my wife and be happy ever after?" The girl looked indifferently at the tree for a moment and said: "He who will satisfy my father, will be my husband." Then they went to see the girl's father. They had a long talk with him and finally they agreed on every detail. The chameleon was very pleased and returned to his home walking as fast as he could.

A few days after he returned to the girl's home and to his disgust found the frog talking with his fiancée. He resented it deeply and feared to lose the girl. He greeted the frog and said: "You intruder! When did you come here?" The frog began to laugh at him and said: "How are you panting creature? Where did you leave your

parents panting and hissing?" The chameleon answered in a challenging tone: "You call me a panting creature, you poor destitute, naked creature, slippery, boneless and buttockless, you with glazy skin which resembles a piece of wood polished with sand paper. Shut up!" They went on insulting each other for some time, because none of the two wanted to be defeated in front of the disputed girl. At last the girl told them to stop abusing each other in such a way and persuaded them to behave. When both were ready to listen, she told them: "I do not refuse your proposals: he who satisfies the requests of my father, will be my husband." Both went to see the father of the girl and hear from him the dowry[1] he wanted for his daughter. The father told them the amount of cattle he wanted and gave them an appointment for six days hence. The suitor who would arrive first with the dowry, would have the girl for his wife. Both agreed to the proposal and without further discussion returned home. The frog invited a great number of she-frogs and prepared a great quantity of beer and food of every kind: sweet potatoes, arum, dove peas, yam and so on. The chameleon did the same, preparing in addition a good quantity of gruel. At last the appointed day arrived. The frog called the she-frogs and distributed the loads. The caravan started preceded by the would-be bridegroom. They marched very fast in order not to be forestalled by the chameleon. It was a funny spectacle to see the long row of frogs hopping on the road, but the inconvenience was that at every hop of the carrier the beer spilt from the gourd, the bananas dropped from the basket and the food crumbled in pieces in the open bags and scattered on the ground. When they arrived at the house of the girl, they were received with prolonged cheers and trillings from the women of the village and they exchanged greetings and congratulations for the achievement. But when they came to unfasten the loads, they were horrified to see that all the receptacles were empty. The women of the household called the father of the girl and told him: "Come and see the kind of presents these people have brought you. They gave only empty receptacles". The old man looked at the frog with a serious countenance and said: "What do you mean by this farce? Do you believe that I can give you my daughter for a few empty receptacles? I am not so needy as yet. How can I expect to have good relations with you if you start with a wile like this? I don't like you at all, go back and seek a wife elsewhere." The frog was very ashamed and silently went off with the gang of she-frogs, hopping slowly along the road side.

In the meantime the chameleon arrived triumphantly with his caravan of carriers. He also was received with prolonged cheers and trillings and greetings. This time the women soon went to inspect the loads and found them to be numerous and full of every kind of food and beer.

There was great rejoicing and exchanging of congratulations. They made merry for two days. The father of the girl was very satisfied. He gave his daughter to the chameleon and the girl became his wife.

[1] Not very long ago the marriage of Kikuyu girls depended more on the parents' arrangement than on the girl's choice. A girl could be used for paying long standing debts, compensation in crimes, exchange for food during severe famine and even mortgaged for security in loans. It cannot be said that that was the general rule of marriage, but such occurrences were by no means rare. In the first decades of this century the dowry to be paid to the girl's father was thirty sheep or two bulls and two cows plus several presents and a great quantity of native beer. Now-a-days the amount has been doubled. The custom has also been introduced of paying money instead of live-stock, in which case the price is about £100. With the new idea of freedom and progress in education the Kikuyu girl is now perfectly free to choose her future husband.

13. THE HYENA, WAKAHARE AND THE CROW

One day a hyena went together with Wakahare to collect honey in the forest, where men used to hang their beehives from the trees.[1] Wakahare climbed the tree, extracted big lumps of combs full of honey from a beehive, and when he was satiated, said to the hyena: "Open your mouth and I will drop some honey into it." The hyena did so and swallowed the honey with great pleasure several times, until she was also satisfied. Then Wakahare left the tree and returned to the ground. He asked the hyena: How did you enjoy the honey?

Very, very much, what bliss, my dear friend.

"But remember," said Wakahare, "this is a kind of sweetness that must not be evacuated from your body."

Yes, I think it must be so; but how can one prevent it from going out ?

I'll tell you what to do. I will stitch your orifice together with your tail and you may be sure that no sweetness will come out.

"Good, my friend, do it for me, please". Wakahare fetched a few sharp long thorns and stitched the orifice with the tail of the hyena and went off. After some time the hyena felt a terrible urge to evacuate. She looked around for help, but nobody was to be found. At last a Jackal happened to pass thereat. "Oh, dear friend Jackal," said the hyena, "come please, and help me."

What can I do for you, dear friend ?

Please, release a little bit the stitches which are at the neck of my tail. I cannot bear it any longer.

"Sorry, my friend, I am unable to do that. I know you have diarrhoea habitually, and I don't want to be splashed with a discharge of that kind". And so saying, he went on. After some time a Serval arrived on his way to the forest. The Hyena beseeched him for help.

"Sorry, Mrs Hyena, you are very prone to discharge violently," said the Serval, "I don't want to be buried under your excrements." He too went his way without looking back. Later on a hare passed by. The Hyena asked again for help, but to no avail.

"I am very sorry," the hare said, "don't you see how clean I am? I am going to a feast. I don't want to soil my dress and get untidy for your dirty business. "He too went his way leaving the Hyena groaning and tossing on the ground on account of the pain she was suffering. At last, a Crow perched on a tree nearby. Looking down at the Hyena lying still on the grass, he thought she was dead, and began to foretaste a good meal: but as he was planning what to do next, the Hyena opened her eyes and seeing the Crow on the tree, said: "Oh dear Crow, dear friend of mine, help! help! please. The Crow left the tree and approached the Hyena. "What is the matter with you ?" he asked.

Oh please, release a bit the stitches in my tail. I am dying of the urge of my body and I cannot evacuate.

You say dying; dying ?

Yes, help me please.

But you see, I am only a bird with no paws. How can I help you with that business ?

Oh dear, try as much as you can and you will succeed.

I doubt very much, and besides that I am very hungry. I have no strength to do any work.

"Oh nonsense! My belly is full of meat. You will eat to-day, to-morrow, and the day after to-morrow and be satiated." On hearing that, the Crow set himself to think and after a little while decided to see what he could do. With his strong bill he succeeded in extracting the first thorn, and truly, two small pieces of meat fell on the ground. The bird devoured them very greedily, and encouraged by the success, began to tackle the job seriously. After great effort he succeeded in extracting the second thorn, but alas! a burst of white excrement gushed forth with such vehemence, that the poor Crow was

[1] Honey is very much appreciated among the Akikuyu. They use it in making beer which is considered of a superior grade to that made of sugar cane. No marriage contract is considered satisfactory without a present of a couple of gourds of honey beer.

The beehives are made of hollowed out pieces of soft trees, three feet deep and one foot in diameter, and which are closed at both ends by round boards. They are suspended from the trees in the forest or from isolated trees in the open country. The ownership of such beehives is highly respected by the population as a whole. The theft of honey from beehives is a very rare occurrence. Fines for such thefts are very high.

cast back ten feet and was buried head and all under a heap of very unpleasant matter. The shock was so great, that he remained buried for two days, until a great shower of rain washed the ground, freeing the Crow of the burden. He remained a full day basking in the sun and regaining strength. He was so weak that he could not fly. The Crow was washed by the heavy rain, but his neck remained white. That is the reason why crows to-day have a white collar in their plumage. The Crow very much resented the alteration of his plumage and decided in his heart to take revenge.

One day he heard that the hyenas had arranged for a great dance (*kebata*) in a thicket he knew very well. He cleaned himself with great care in the morning dew, put on a beautiful string made of scented roots and proceeded to the meeting place. On his arrival he was greeted by the hyenas and several of them asked him to give them some of those little pieces of meat he wore around his body. They took his ornamental beads to be meat. He refused to give any of the beads away, but rising on his feet with an air of dignity, he said: "My dear friends, forgive me this time, I cannot give away this kind of meat, which is specially reserved for our kinship, but I promise you a great quantity of good meat and fat if you will follow me to the place I am going to show you."

"Where is it?" they asked very anxiously.

"You see, we birds fly in the air and our deposits of food are not on earth, but on high for safety's sake. Look up at the sky and see how many white heaps of fat we usually store there. That's where you will find meat and fat in great quantity. The hyenas gazed up to the sky and asked: "But how can we get there?"

I will show you. You can reach there very easily. Now, let us make an appointment. The day after to-morrow we will meet here again. Tell your people, old and young, men and women to come here with baskets and bags; there will be meat and fat for all.

On the day appointed the hyenas came in great numbers. I think the whole population was there. The Crow arrived in due time. He started by congratulating the crowd on their punctuality, and with great poise said: "My dear friends, listen now how we are going to perform the journey to the place of meat and plenty. You must grapple one another by the tail, so as to form a long chain. The first of the chain will hold fast to my tail."

There was a general bustle among the hyenas, but after a few moments all were in order. At a given sign, the Crow began to fly, lifting the hyenas one by one till they looked like a long black chain waving in the air. After some time he asked: "Is there anybody still touching ground?" The hyenas answered: "No, we are all in the air". He flew and flew up into the sky for a long time and asked again: "What do you see on earth? Do you see the trees, the huts, the rivers?"

—We see nothing but darkness, they answered. He flew again for another while and then said to the hyenas nearby: "Now, release for a while, that I may readjust my ornaments."

—But dear friend, how can we do it? We will surely fall down and die.

—I can't help it. If you don't release me, I will let go my tail, I am sure the feathers will grow again.

—Oh dear friend, don't, please don't for your mother's sake, we would die, all of us. The Crow would not listen at all. He thought the time had come for his revenge. With a sharp jerk he turned to the right. The feathers of his tail tore out, and with them the long chain of hyenas. They fell heavily on the ground and died. One of them escaped with a broken leg. She was pregnant and so saved the kinship from total destruction.[1] That is the reason why hyenas these days limp when they walk.

[1] In former times hyenas were common in Kikuyu country. Their continual howling during the night was very impressive and caused a dreadful sensation. To the less populated locations they constituted a danger and nobody would venture out alone during the night. Live-stock, children and even women were often attacked by these marauders. Nevertheless the Akikuyu never thought of getting rid of them by systematic destructions. They were the scavengers of the country and the undertakers of the dead. It is not the custom of the Akikuyu to bury the dead. The corpse is tied by the arms with a rope and dragged a certain distance into the bush behind the hut, where it may rot or become a meal for the hyenas. By Government regulations the natives are now ordered to bury their dead. Hyenas are almost extinct in Kikuyu these days.

14. WAITHANJE AND HIS NGETHE-NGETHE

There was a man who had two sons. One was called Waithanje and the other one Kamau. They were twins. He had also a she-goat which gave birth to two kids. They were also twins: one was called Ngethengethe and the other one Gecero. Ngethengethe was given to Waithanje and Gecero to Kamau. Waithanje took great pains in feeding his kid and it grew very big and fat, so that his father began to look at it with satisfaction and great interest.

One day he invited a goodly number of his relations to his house to enjoy a good meal with him. As you know, no meat is more appreciated by the Akikuyu than he-goat meat. So the old man decided to slaughter Ngethengethe and give a real good treat to his relations. He knew that his son Waithanje would not have agreed to have his pet killed, therefore he had recourse to wile. He sent him to his uncle's house with a message and during his absence the goat was slaughtered. The uncle was already invited by his father, consequently the boy found the house empty. The boy returned quickly to report to his father. On his way home he met another boy of his age and asked him: "Where do you come from?" The boy answered: "I come from a place where a goat called Ngethengethe is eaten and there is still plenty of meat left". Waithanje was very grieved at the news. He kept silent for a moment and afterwards began to sing: "*Acio moigire Ngethengethe egathenjwo, Gecero erarega gothenjwo, Ngethengethe yunangaga mote ore Ndia hoye nda!*"

Further on he met with other people and repeated to them the same song. When he arrived home, the skin of the goat was already stretched on the ground with several pegs, as the Akikuyu used to do. He glanced at it, turned his eyes to the ground for a few moments and slipping into the stretched skin began to sing: "*Acio moigire Ngethengethe egatenjwo . . .*" At the end of that song he had sunk into the ground up to his knees. He sang again and went down to his waist. He sang for the third time and disappeared completely underground. His father was highly surprised at what happened to his son, and trembling with fear, asked himself what would happen next. He could not stay at home a minute more and hasted to see a witchdoctor, who certainly would give him some explanation, or at least suggest to him what to do in the circumstances, in order to avoid further evils.

The witchdoctor looked at him with solemnity and said: "Go and sweep the place where your son sank and pour some sheep fat on it. "The old man did so. After a few days a little crack was visible in the ground on that spot. The old man poured more fat on it and waited for the result.

One day the boy emerged from the ground with a great flock of cattle, sheep and goats. He called the francolin and asked him: "If I send you to my father with a message for him, what would you say?" The francolin answered: "I would say: Kwerrrrrr! kwer! !" "Oh no," said the boy, "you are not a good messenger; go back. I don't want you". He asked a wild pigeon: "If I send you to my father with a message for him, how would you speak to him?" "I would say: Kukuuuuuuu! kukuuuuuuu!," said the pigeon. "Oh no, no, you are not a good messenger, go back, I don't want you".

Then he asked the small bird which usually is seen near the granaries of every Kikuyu homestead and said: "If I send you to my father with a message for him, how would you speak to him?" "I would say: Father of Waithanje, build a big house, build a second one, because Waithanje is coming, prepare a big house." Now the boy was satisfied and said: "Good, my little bird, you are the messenger I was looking for. Go and speak thus to my father."

The bird flew to his father's house and the boy started again repeating the old song he sang before going underground.

When the father heard the little bird mentioning the name of his son, he was annoyed and began to scare him saying: "Go away, you little bird, I don't want to be reminded of people who are no more." The little bird flew a little further, but soon returned again singing the same song. Then the old man set to thinking and decided

to consult the witchdoctor. The witchdoctor seized a small calabash, shook it three times and after a short interval of silence said: "Go and build a big hut sufficient to contain a large flock of sheep and goats. After that build a large enclosure well fenced with thorns and heavy branches. If you hear a big noise during the night do not come out of your hut, but stay in until next morning". The old man went home satisfied but very puzzled at the response of the witchdoctor. He built the hut and after that he built the enclosure too, and was anxious to see what would happen next.

During the night he heard a great noise near his house. Several times he was tempted to peep out and see what was going on, but he abstained out of fear, lest something unpleasant should happen to him.

This is what happened that night. From the crack where Waithanje sank under ground came forth a great number of cattle, goats and sheep followed by Waithanje, who was holding on to the horns of his dear he-goat Ngethengethe. The boy became a very rich man. He forgave his father for the wrong done to him and for many years they lived together again in great comfort and happiness.

15. A GRATEFUL GAZELLE

Long ago a man had two sons: one from each of his two wives. It happened that the second wife died very young and so the man remained with only one wife. That man was a hunter.[1] He used the bow and arrow as well as traps, as our fathers used to do in the days of yore. He had many traps set all over his terrain.

Very often he used to send his two sons to inspect the traps, telling them to report exactly when some animal was caught. He insisted very much on the importance of their job and their reliability, threatening them with heavy punishments if they dared tell him a lie. His strict order was: 'Never set at liberty a trapped animal.'

One day the two boys went together to inspect the traps in a big forest, which was not very far away from their home. The old man had set many traps in the forest. They inspected a good number of them, but all were untouched and empty. At last they came to a trap and found a lovely, tiny gazelle entangled in it. The first boy, whose mother was still alive, was moved with compassion for the little creature and said to his brother: "Let us loosen and free this poor little creature. The meat we could get from it is of no importance and I don't think that our father has any use for it."

"If our father asks," said the other boy, "what shall we say ?

—We will say that we found a trap off, but there was nothing in.

"I agree with you on condition that from now on you will give me half of your daily ration of food. The day you break your pledge, remember, I will tell our father the whole story, and you will get punishment." The other boy accepted and promised to be faithful to his pledge. When they arrived home the old man asked: "Well, my boys, what have you to report about the traps ?

"Nothing, father," they said, "we found only one trap off, that was on the border of the forest, but there was nothing in." The father didn't say anything and all went well.

The boys were very hungry from the long roaming in the forest, so the mother served them a substantial meal made of mashed maize and beans (*irio*). According to the previous agreement the merciful boy gave to his brother half of his ration. Next day he did the same and so on for many weeks.

One day the father looked at his two sons with some concern and was puzzled in noticing that

[1] Hunting was probably the profession of the first occupiers of the country. Original ownership of land, even to-day, is always referred to the first occupier of it when, by common agreement, the first party of hunters allocated to each family a definite portion of bush land for hunting. The common weapons in use were bow and arrows, the spear and many kinds of traps. In the forest they used to dig deep pits cleverly concealed with leaves and earth in which they caught elephants and other big game. The meat was eaten and the tusks sold to the traders coming from the coast, in exchange for beads, brass wire, cowries and cotton stuff. Hunting now-a-days is no more in practice. There are government restrictions on game and the country is now intensively cultivated. The wild beasts have moved further on to the semi-desert regions.

one of them was very fat and the other one very thin. He said to himself: "My experience is that usually an orphan boy gets thin and the one who has his mother grows fat, but here in my home the case is just the reverse. Is it possible that a mother can neglect her own son and prefer another one?" The mother, too, was not less puzzled and asked herself: "Is he sick? but where does all the food go that I give him daily?" The thin boy was asked many questions by his father and mother, but he kept silent and didn't reveal the agreement for fear of his brother.

After some months had elapsed, he felt very weak and decided to break his pledge with his brother. In fact the following day he refused to share his ration with him. The fat one resented and threatened him to tell the father the story of the gazelle. The thin boy didn't listen to his threats and continued to refuse to give him his food. Then the fat boy went to the father and said: "Father, the day you sent us to inspect the traps, we found a small gazelle in a trap near the forest, but my brother coaxed me and we let it go." The old man did not say a single word. He prepared about a dozen wooden pegs, put them in a leather bag and said to his sons: "I need both of you, come along with me, we go to the forest, I must collect some honey there." Off they went. In fact they collected a lot of honey from the beehives he had hung on several trees in the forest. When the leather bag was full of honey, the old man said to the thin boy: "Come here, I have something to tell you in particular. You remember my strict order not to free any animal caught in my traps. You disobeyed me and now I am going to punish you." So he held him by his arms and tied him fast to a big tree and left him. The boy was crying and entreating for pardon, but the father would not listen to him at all. The father and the fat boy went home and the poor wretch was left alone in the forest at the mercy of the wild beasts. While returning home, the man gave a serious warning to the fat boy and said: "If you say a word of what you have seen of your brother, I will punish you in the same way and more."

When they arrived home, the mother asked: "Where did you leave the other boy?"

"I don't know," he said, "where he is?"

—He went with you, didn't he?

"Did he? I can't tell you. You talk nonsense so often." They went on arguing for some time, but in the end the matter was left alone, and for a few days nobody dared mention it again.

The poor boy in the forest passed a terrible night, but luckily no wild beast turned up to molest him. In the early morning he began to cry loudly saying: "I am going to die because I helped a poor little gazelle. . . ." It happened that the little gazelle was sleeping in a bush nearby. On hearing the poor boy crying, she came out in the open and approached the boy. She recognized him at first sight and said: "Good boy, do not cry, I think I can help you". And in fact she set herself to work with her teeth and one by one the ropes which kept the boy tight to the tree fell down and the boy was free again. Imagine the joy of the poor boy and how great was his gratitude to the gazelle. But that was not the end.

The gracious little animal took the boy to her abode in the bush, gave him plenty of fat to anoint his body and the scars caused by the ropes. She fetched good food from the gardens near the border of the forest and nourished him better than a mother could have done. After a few days of such good nursing, the boy recovered completely; his energy was restored, he was strong again and fit for any kind of work.

Then the gazelle spoke again and said: "Dear boy, you saved my life when I was caught in the trap; it was only right that I saved yours in return, you being in the same danger of losing it. But there is something else that I can do for you. Look at that big tree on the south border of the forest. Do you see it?"

—Yes, that yonder.

—Well, at the foot of the tree there is a crack in the ground. Go there and strike the ground three times with this my rod, and you will get rich. Goodbye and good luck be with you.

The boy took the rod in his hands and went to the tree shown by the gazelle. He inspected the ground around the tree and soon discovered a

long crack in the earth exactly as he was told a few moments before by the gazelle. He took heart and struck vigorously three times. Lo! Cattle in numbers and sheep and goats came forth just like water from a spring. He struck a second time and a great number of men, women, boys and girls came forth and put themselves at his disposal for the building of his hut and of a great enclosure for his animals. In a few days the buildings were ready. The work over, he rewarded every one with an ox, and his flock was still extraordinarily great. He was really a rich man.

In that very year a terrible famine swept over the country. His father and his mother came to him begging for food. He helped his mother very generously, but refused to help his father because "he killed me", he said. After some years his father, his mother and his brother died. He became a strong young man and married a beautiful girl. He had many children and enjoyed the rest of his life happily and was much respected by his folk.

16. WAKAHARE AND HIS GARDEN

Wakahare [1] had an extensive garden. He set aside a good portion of it and put it under manioc. When the crop was ripe, he dug a bundle of beautiful roots, went to a cross-way of the main road, lit a fire and roasted the roots with great care, so that they were very appealing even to the least hungry traveller passing by. He did it on purpose to entice people and charge them high prices, after they had been invited to eat some of them.

Many people passed there and he invited them to eat, but they simply went on saying that they were not accustomed to eat manioc. Many women passed, many boys and girls, and all said the same; manioc did not appeal to them.

One day it happened that a very hungry woman approached Wakahare and asked if he could give her some manioc, because she was very hungry. "Surely, you may have it", he said, and gave her three big roots. When the woman was satiated, he told her: "Now, you must pay me", and asked a very high price.

"How can I pay you," asked the woman, "I have just nothing with me.

"Go and fetch a kid for me and I will be satisfied." The woman went off and brought a kid to Wakahare. At last his trap had worked and he was very satisfied. He put the small goat into a granary of broad beans. In a few weeks the beans were finished. He shifted the animal into another granary full of dove peas and it grew so fat that it couldn't get out through the small door. Wakahare was very worried for the trouble. He went to the main road and cried loudly. A hyena came out from the bush and asked him: "Aloo! my friend Wakahare, what is the matter with you ? "

"My goat has grown so fat," he said, "that it can't come out of the granary. It is the goat I bought with my manioc, you know."

—How do you whistle when you want to call your goats ?

"I ?" asked the hyena. "I simply whistle thus: a . . u . . uh! a . . u . . uh!"

"Oh no," said Wakahare, "you cannot extract my goat from the granary." After a moment, along came a jackal and Wakahare asked him: "How do you whistle when yo want to call your goats ? The jackal said: "I usually whistle thus : Mbweee! mbwee!".

"Oh no," said again Wakahare, "you cannot extract my goat from the granary".
Many other animals came the same way, but all were rejected by Wakahare. At last came a leopard which asked him: "What is your trouble, my child Wakahare ? What can I do for you ?"

—My goat has grown so fat that there is no possibility of getting it out of the granary. Dear leopard, how do you whistle when you want to call your goats ?

[1] "Wakahare" is the name given to a small squirrel which usually dwells in the trees. It is a swift and very gracious little animal. The natives believe that it is the most cunning of animals and many tales have been invented to exalt its cleverness in cheating the other animals. In some parts of the country the qualities mentioned above are attributed to the hare. On the contrary the hyena always plays the part of the dullest of all creatures.

—Well, I simply sound thus: Uuu ... ui! uuu ... ui!

"Yes," said Wakahare, "you are the one who will extract my goat from the granary. But, please, don't hurt it, treat it gently."

So the leopard went to the granary and in a few moments the goat was on the ground near the granary, but it was dead and still bleeding.

"Dear leopard," said Wakahare, "but you have killed my goat." "Not me," said the leopard, "but astump of the trellis which shot out of the granar ywall and pierced the goat's throat."

There was little room for discussion because the master of the situation for the moment was the leopard and not Wakahare. The carcass was reduced to pieces and the leopard said: "Wakahare, go and fetch some fire from my father's house." Wakahare went off and after some time returned saying that the old leopard refused to give him any fire, and more than that, chased him away in a very bad manner, beating him with a stick. The leopard then told him to go to his sister's house and he would have fire very easily. So Wakahare went off again, but he had a plan of his own. He smeared mud and ashes all over his body and returned to the leopard crying and saying: "Look how badly I have been treated by your people; they bit me and abused me in the worst manner imaginable. I will never return to them again. You must go and fetch the fire." The leopard remained silent for a while and finally decided to go himself to his father's house and take the fire. In the meanwhile Wakahare took possession of the meat and bit by bit carried it on the top of a very high tree. When the leopard came, there was no meat left on the ground. He understood the trick and began to beseech Wakahare to give him at least a bit of fat to anoint his throat. Wakahare told him: "Yes, you may have the contents of the stomach (*tatha*). That is what was prepared for your meal here in my house". "All right," said the leopard, "we will meet again at the spring when you come there to drink." He went home and told his two sons to guard the spring, with an order to seize Wakahare when coming for his daily drink. Wakahare very soon learned of the ambush and quickly found a way to escape it. He dressed himself with several dry banana leaves to resemble a bundle and cautiously slipped down to the spring where he had his drink and retired.

When the leopard asked his sons if they had seen Wakahare at the spring, they said: "No, we saw only a bundle of dry banana leaves rolling down to the spring and after a little while went back again into the bush. It was a very peculiar thing, we never saw before." "Oh, the cunning fellow," said the leopard, "it was Wakahare in disguise, I am sure. So if he comes again in that way, you must seize him, do not be afraid."

Next day Wakahare came again to the spring concealed in a beehive. The small leopards enjoyed very much the sport and did nothing at all to catch him. Next time he dressed himself with high grass and had his drink at the spring without anybody disturbing him. The leopard again asked his sons: "Have you seen Wakahare at the spring?" "No," they said, "we saw only a beehive coming down and going back again." The leopard knew he could not rely on his little ones and so he himself decided to watch at the spring. Wakahare was on the top of a big tree and looking down saw the leopard crouching near the water and refrained from going near the spring. After two days Wakahare was very thirsty and decided to try his trick again. He dressed in dry grass and slowly approached the spring. The leopard was waiting for him concealed in a very thick bush. With a sudden jump he sprang on the poor Wakahare and said: "You wicked fellow, who gave you permission to drink my water? You must pay for it." "Must I?" asked Wakahare. "And how much do you ask?" "You must give me the apes which are on that tree, "pointing to a big tree where a big number of monkeys, having seen the leopard in the open, were making a great noise. "Well, that is not beyond my possibility, I will do that and very soon". Pretending great indifference, Wakahare approached the big tree and began to sing and dance merrily and making great fun for the apes. When he stopped, the monkeys asked him: "When did you have your circumcision?" Wakahare said: "I had my circumcision not long ago. Do you want to be circumcised as well?"

"Yes, we would be very pleased."

"All right. I will seek a master of ceremonies for you and tell you when we can fix a date," said Wakahare. He went to the leopard and arranged every detail for the meeting of the monkeys. After that he returned to the apes and fixed the date of their circumcision. "I found a very good master of ceremonies," he told them, "but you must be careful: you must not look at him at all. It is strictly tabu to look at the M.C. in circumstances such as these."

When the day appointed arrived, Wakahare cleared the ground for the performance. The leopard hid himself in a thicket nearby. The monkeys came in a long row preceded by Wakahare. They were all veiled in order to avoid the sight of the M.C. Then the leopard came forth and with a swift grip of his paws at the throat of the poor creatures killed them one by one. An old ape which followed the candidates from afar, began to get impatient and asked himself what could have prevented the candidates from coming back soon after their circumcision. He looked at the place with inquisitive eyes and to his great horror he discovered that they were all dead. He bolted back hastily carrying the bad news to the other monkeys which lived in the forest. There was great consternation. They had a general meeting and the conclusion was that Wakahare had cheated them in a murderous way. They decided to see Wakahare and make him responsible for the damage suffered. They caught him one day and told him in a threatening way: "You are the murderer of our people, you must pay us a heavy fine for your wickedness". Without losing his calm, Wakahare asked: "How can I pay you? What do you ask me to pay?" They said: "You must give us all the pumpkins which are in the field beyond this thicket and are continually guarded by the proprietor". "Let me go," said Wakahare, "and I am sure I'll pay you this very day". Wakahare approached the proprietor of the garden and said: "Good morning, sir, I am sent by my father to tell you that a very fat ox has been slaughtered at our home just now and you are invited to partake of the feast at the village. You are expected to go soon with your knife and your tripod. There is also a good quantity of beer to wash down the meat, you know". The man smiled at the announcement and forgetting his pumpkins, went straight to the village mentioned by Wakahare. In the meantime the monkeys came down and helped themselves to the luscious pumpkins. Wakahare went to the house of the proprietor and in order to distract the attention of his two girls, started singing: "*Motana Wakahare are nguo igotomba-tomba na irea inge ikahumba mego mare ndeye, mare ndeya* . . . ?" The girls laughed very heartily while the monkeys were finishing all the pumpkins in the garden.

After a while Wakahare left the girls and disappeared in the bush as fast as he could. At sunset the proprietor came back. He was very angry because there was no meat in the village mentioned by Wakahare and he knew he had been played a bad trick by him. But when he saw he had also lost all his pumpkins, he became furious, and swearing at Wakahare, decided to kill him at any cost. But where was he to be found? He disappeared and there was no finding him in that locality.

The Kikuyu saying is quite true: "*Oge okerete hinya*".

[to be continued]

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Sistemi monetari africani al lume dell'economia primitiva by G. Tucci, (*African money systems in the light of primitive economics*), Napoli, Rivista di Etnografia, 1950. 136 pages.

The book is a synthesis, though the author is well aware of the difficulty of his task in a field wherein reliable materials are scanty and theories thrive. Still he succeeds in giving within 136 pages a clear and substantial account of the present state of knowledge, together with a valuable contribution to the discussion of theories and facts. Here he shows a balanced judgement and a full command of the specific problems.

In the introductory note to the book the author lays down some methodological criteria that, in his opinion, should guide any research on primitive economics, namely (1) not to try to interpret primitive economics by our modern mental habits and by the theories of modern economic science; (2) primitive economics is far more complex than most people realize and requires a cautious and unprejudiced approach; (3) in the present stage of research, works of a comprehensive character are premature and must be preceded by detailed studies on single phenomenon.

The first chapter (*Notes on the origin of exchange*, pp. 11-36) is a survey of the most important problems connected with the origin of exchange: division of labour, conditions of property, silent barter, gift-exchange, theory of Mauss, the *kula*, the rise of a market. It is interesting to see that the author considers the problems of the origin of exchange as quite independent of any previous discussion on the conditions of property and division of labour, as he thinks that at any stage of social development nature and geographical distribution provide sufficient variety to make exchange possible. Further discussion will be found in the following chapter (pp. 42-43), which, in our opinion, would fit better together with the previous one.

An important point in the first chapter is the discussion of the doctrines of Mauss and of Malinowski, which, though different in scope and conclusions, tend to interpret primitive exchange, at least in some peculiar aspects of it, as a matter of a non-economical nature. The author maintains a very careful attitude, and though he seems to accept the phenomena as described and interpreted by the two scholars, introduces a distinction between the non-economical frame and the economical elements of it, which appears to me particularly valuable. I would perhaps be even more daring and say that, within a complex exchange of services, performed in a ritual frame, there is something which can be called real barter. Even now-a-days social phenomena are found in which economical and non-economical aspects are closely knit, but nevertheless we consider them, after the necessary distinctions, from the peculiar angle which is suitable to our purposes.

In the opinion of the author the original form of exchange was the silent market and he attempts to justify his opinion on pages 31-33, though he recognizes that the data in our possession do not allow us to reach a definite conclusion.

The second chapter (*Origin and Development of Primitive Money*, pp. 39-69) starts with an important reminder on the necessity of taking into consideration the whole primitive outlook, whenever we examine any single phenomenon of primitive life. The *homo oeconomicus* of classical economics is of very little use when one is confronted with facts from which the modern habit of distinction and rationalization is so distant. At the same time the author rejects the theory that the presence of barter or the absence of money must necessarily be interpreted as signs of a backward phase of development. He refutes also the simplest explanation of the origin of money as a device created to avoid the inconveniences of barter, and points out that money is always the result of a complex process, in which a great variety of factors operate.

A very important part then follows, in which the most important definitions of money are criticized from the point of view of their suitability to primitive money. Special attention is given to definitions proposed by Menger, Helfferich, Temple, Herskovits, Einzig, after which the author gives a definition of his own. In his opinion money is: (1) any object natural or manufactured, which serves as a means of exchange or as a repayment for special services, the nature of which is not purely economical; (2) a complex of services that, though they may appear of an economic nature, are in their essence related to ideas of a religious or magical character.*

The second part of the definition appears to me frankly unacceptable, because essential in the nature of money is the possibility of its being accumulated and of being used in two ways; and this obviously cannot happen with services, as they function in only one way, and, once performed, exist no more.

As for the first part I am very doubtful about the necessity for a special definition for primitive money. Be the object in question a chattel or a symbol, what one has to ascertain in order to call it money is whether it exercises a monetary function: the other aspects of it do not add to the very nature of the phenomenon and confront us just with a problem of empirical classification. Immediately after the end of the second world war, cigarettes were used as money all over Europe and elsewhere, yet we are not (at least economically) in a primitive era: I think therefore that a general definition is flexible enough to cover any type of primitive money. In the same way I would reject all definitions excluding consumption goods as money, not because they do not cover primitive money, but because they are intrinsically wrong. The distinction between *Nutzgeld* and *Zeichengeld* is purely practical, because the difference is a matter of degree or limit. The case in which a money, still having legal value, is hoarded because of its commodity value is very well known.

After a very balanced review of the most important systems of classification suggested by scholars or adopted in museums, the author examines some theories on the origin of money. He recognizes the importance of political power for its development, but points out that this must be referred to an advanced stage not to origins. Even more important are peculiar social conditions, as pointed out by Gerloff, in which a few ambitious men try to dominate and accumulate wealth, both as means of power and a result of it. But here also one is confronted with favourable conditions, not with the proper nature of the phenomenon.

A poignant remark is made in referring to theories which attribute to money a religious origin: religious and magical rites can bestow a special value on a given thing, and so facilitate its use as money, but the *actual* use of it is not a phenomenon of a religious nature. The same remark must be made about the possible influence of secret societies. The theory which explains the origin of money through marriage gifts is also discarded, on the basis of the studies made by Crawley, van Gennep and especially Corso, who have shown their purely religious character. Of course the fact that later on the religious significance may have been lost and the practice left with an economical content does not affect the question in any way.

The author does not express a theory of his own, but is apparently inclined to consider the origin of money not as a mechanical effect, following necessarily a given cause, but as a result of an evolutionary process, on the basis of barter and within the frame of primitive life considered as an organic whole.

The third chapter (*African Monetary Systems*, pp. 73-103) is a very accurate description of all the types of money used by the natives of Africa.

*The Italian wording is very involved, and there is some suspicion that a misprint adds to the difficulty. As my English rendering is rather an interpretation, I transcribe the actual Italian words: (1) "ogni oggetto di natura o manufatto, che assolve alla funzione di medium di scambio o di (sic) peculiari necessità della vita primitiva, che vanno al di là della semplice permuta o del puro acquisto, ma determinano speciali servizi.

(2) il complesso di prestazioni, le quali se a prima vista si possono definire economiche, nella loro essenza traducono idee e pensieri di carattere magico e religioso".

The description is based on a very wide reading of the literature, which the author has thoroughly searched, and sometimes on unpublished material, gathered through personal contacts and correspondence. The various sections of the chapter are distributed as follows: cowries, iron, salt, copper, gold dust, other types. For each type is given all the information available (geographical area, divisions, rates, peculiar usages, etc.) together with the references. Of course the investigation could have been extended, in the light of the preceding chapters: for instance, each monetary system could have been studied in relation to the economic life and cultural development of the primitive society concerned; the relations between the commodity value and the conventional function of each type of money could have been investigated with very important results for the theory itself, and so on. But that would have required further research in the field, and that belongs to another stage of the study which the author himself advocates.

My review has dealt especially with the first two chapters of the book, which is understandable, as they imply questions of principles and method, but nobody could overlook the importance of the third chapter, in which so many materials are gathered and discussed for the first time. The same thing must be said for the first hand bibliography of 295 items which end the book. A table of proper names adds to the utility of the work.

As the book seems particularly valuable, I would suggest that its literary form, which is very involved and sometimes obscure, and betrays haste in drawing it up, be made simpler and clearer; that some misprints be corrected, and that some debatable statements (e.g. that the fundamental difference between modern economical structure and primitive economics consists in the part played by the machine, neglecting such fundamental elements as credit), be dropped. With just a few retouches the book could be used as a standard introduction to the study of primitive monetary systems, not only of Africa, but in general.

A.P.

Trade Unions in Natal by H. G. RINGROSE. (Oxford University Press. 1951. Cape Town.) 12*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Ringrose has presented an important section of South Africa's industrial history, for although trade union development in Natal has been on a far smaller scale than on the Reef, it has followed to some extent, a parallel course. This book contains much detailed and necessary technical information particularly in the chapters devoted to the classification and description of the various trade unions and their administration. Trade Unionism is to-day at a critical stage of its development in South Africa and it is of the utmost importance that its purpose and function should be clearly understood. Mr. Ringrose's brief and essential survey of industrial legislation is ably set out while the chapters on extra benefits and services add to the picture of the important and far-reaching influence of trade unions on the life of the industrial worker, not only on his working hours and conditions.

In a study of Natal where the proportion of non-European workers in industry is so much greater than that of European workers, and where nevertheless the non-European trade union development lags so far behind that of Europeans, it would not have been unreasonable to expect Mr. Ringrose to devote more attention to the survey and analysis of this urgent and overwhelming problem. Only one chapter is given to African Trade Unions and one cannot escape the feeling that this very important aspect of the subject could have been more fully developed. Mr. Ringrose states in his preface that statistical information has been difficult to obtain in many cases and it may well be that this applies particularly to the less highly developed non-European Trade Unions, but a fuller, even if necessarily more general survey of this particular aspect, would have added much to the value of the book. The struggle of the non-European Trade Unions for existence and recognition may well prove to be as historically significant as the ultimate achievement.

Mr. Ringrose has produced much valuable

statistical information indicative of wide and deep research but it is a pity that he has made no attempt to put the history of Natal's trade unions into the wider framework of trade unionism in South Africa of which it forms an integral part. His objectivity has led Mr. Ringrose perhaps too far away from the human realities of his subject and trade unionists may find much cause for disagreement in his general assumptions and inferences.

HELEN JOSEPH

Marriage in a Changing Society. By J. A. BARNES. (Rhodes Livingstone Papers No. 20. O.U.P. 1951.) pp. ix+137, 14 tables, 4 plates, 10*s*. 6*d*.

The purpose of this paper is stated to be to compare the institution of marriage among the Fort Jameson Nguni of N. Rhodesia (descendants of a group of Nguni who left Zululand in Chaka's days) as it was in the 1890's before their military power was broken by the British and as it is to-day; to relate it to the general plan of social life at these two periods and to discuss some of the processes that have brought about the changes observed.

Chapter 1 deals with the earlier of the two periods when marriage was tied to a clear-cut residential system based on patrilineal descent and virilocal residence. The Nguni lived in large villages containing hundreds of huts built round a cattle byre and grouped into clusters, each containing the dwellings of a few close agnates with their wives and children under the leadership of a senior male agnate and including captives taken in war. The clusters were grouped into divisions each under a lieutenant. Each village was attached to a royal headquarters where there was a senior queen, a "system similar to that found to-day among the Swazi". A man who quarrelled with his kinsmen could not move to another village; he could only hive off to form a recognizable cluster of his own which still remained part of the residential system.

Marriage was marked by two distinct transfers of cattle-payment of "snuffbox" (one head of cattle), which established a man's claim to bring an action against an adulterer and bridewealth (*malowolo*) of from one to twelve head of cattle, which gave a man a right to the custody of the children. Where the woman was a captive (about half the total number of marriages at that period) no payment passed.

The central feature of the marriage ceremonial was, as is still the case among the Zulu to-day, the pouring of the gall of a slaughtered beast on the bride at the bridegroom's home.

Virilocal residence was the rule, although a man might live with his wife's people after payment of "snuffbox" until bridewealth had been handed over. Marriage was polygynous, virginity was insisted upon, adulterers were killed and divorce was exceedingly rare. The group of agnates was important and children grew up knowing they belonged to the father's village.

European conquest broke down the large villages and private raiding on which the Nguni mode of life was based. In chapter 2 we are given a brief summary of the main forces making for change: the Administration which discouraged the establishment of new villages, forbade the killing of adulterers and installed a new political set-up; Christianity which supported some Nguni values but opposed others; labour migration; infiltration of Cewa into Nguni territory.

Chapters 3 and 4 contain an analysis of modern Nguni marriage, supported by 14 tables illustrating marital status, incidence of bridewealth, divorce ratios, virilocality and uxorilocality, etc. A number of fundamental changes have taken place in marriage. From being strongly virilocal, marriage has become uxorilocal in about 52 per cent of the cases. Whereas formerly marriage was regarded primarily as the transfer of the fertility of the woman to the group of her husband, to-day, especially in the first few years of marriage "copulation rather than child-bearing is emphasized" and custody of the children is uncertain. Divorce has become frequent (28 per cent of all marriages end in divorce). The persistent agnatic group of the earlier period has given way to an "omnidirectional kinship system" in which descent

is not traced beyond the grandparents' generation and the residential system which formed an integral part of the political organization has given way to a system in which political position is determined by where a man decides to live. To-day women are independent, they own property in their own right and may even have, in case of adultery, to pay a fine to their husband (the economic position in the earlier period is not discussed).

The ceremonial associated with marriage remains much as it was before but in practice is often not carried out in the modern situation. "Snuffbox " has given way to legalization payment (*cimalo*) of £1. 10*s*. 0*d*. which now passes in 62 per cent of all marriages and establishes a man's claim to damages for adultery. Bridewealth passes in only 4 per cent of marriages, and while in theory it still establishes a man's right to custody of the children, in practice, whatever payments have or have not been made, the children go where they want to for affiliation is not fixed. Children are potential recruits to local kin groups led by a variety of relatives.

There is a great deal of variation in marriage. Whether or not a man will pay bridewealth, observe his obligations to his wife's kin or carry out various ceremonials is a matter of individual choice and everyone is subject to a mass of conflicting pressures and claims. The position to-day is that men earn their own money, do not call on senior agnates for help, settle where they will and the former structural basis for stable marriage, the affiliation of children to the agnatic group, has gone.

If the modern situation is confusing, the author's presentation of his material is by no means clear even on such a fundamental point as what constitutes marriage. It is stated that the relationship between husband and wife is "partly defined in legal terms with mutual rights and duties enforced in the courts. This relationship is documented and validated by the transfer of money and cattle from one group to another and by the performance of various marriage ceremonies (p. 45.)". Yet the "absence of these ceremonials even less than the absence of marriage payments does not invalidate the legal rights of husband and wife (p. 67)". Apparently the legal rights inhere in something that is neither marriage payment nor marriage ceremonial but what this something is or what were taken to be the criteria of marriage in the statistical tables employed, we are not told. Some "marriages" in which neither payment nor ceremonies have taken place are regarded as "not well fixed" by virtue of the general opinion in regard to the inability of the parties to remain together and these are said to have been excluded from the tables. Yet some 'not well fixed' marriages become regarded as true marriage after a few years. The picture is still further complicated by reference to concubinage without any definition or explanation of how this differs from marriage. Such confusion is serious in a paper on the subject of marriage. It would seem that at any rate the goodwill and consent at least of the girl's relations are essential. "A man cannot be validly and effectively married without establishing his relationship to his affines (p.104)". Part of the obligation to the wife's parents are uxorilocal residence for a period and assistance from time to time in the wife's mother's garden but there is wide variation in the extent to which these are carried out in practice.

Kin play an important part in marriage; they are involved in all the negotiations, in marriage ceremonial, in settling marital differences. There are varying alignments of the kin in marriage quarrels and the two sides see themselves as opposed only when the marriage relationship is broken up. Litigation about marriage payments is rare and the idea of sorcery between affines not well-developed. A strong social relationship is established between the two families related by marriage and a man or woman can always seek shelter and hospitality at the hut of his "child's parent-in-law".

The two groups of kin are shown as deeply concerned in maintaining the marriage but why this should be so is not clear. A variety of reasons is given: "the tenuousness of the marriage relationship"; "because of the children" (but since neither side has any strong claim to them it is difficult to see this as a reason); because of the

expressed need for everyone "to live well together without bringing trouble into the village . . . The well-being of the village and of the local group of kinsfolk within it has ultimate value for the Nguni as an end in itself." If it is this latter that underlies the concern of kin in maintaining marriages it should be more fully discussed.

Chapter 5, Synchronic and diachronic analysis, is largely a summing up. In assessing the processes by which change has come about the author emphasizes mainly factors resulting from European conquest and administration which have led to a breakdown of the old social structure. Thus uxorilocality to-day is explained in terms of administrative policy making the establishment of new villages difficult, so that "the easiest way for a man to flee from his kinsmen is to build his hut in his wife's village". But the writer himself shows that uxorilocal marriage is not the only alternative open to a man who has quarrelled with his relations. "Every man is a potential recruit to many local groups. He selects between the numerous possibilities open to him on the basis of his own inclinations and in response to various pressures of siblings, parents, etc. (p. 126)." Why does he choose to stay with his wife's people rather than attach himself to other types of kin or even strangers? Uxorilocality to-day is not, as is suggested in this study, an inevitable result of the changes in social structure; it represents primarily a value which Nguni have acquired through their close association with matrilineal peoples.

Similarly the increased frequency of divorce among Nguni is seen as mainly due to the breakdown of their agnatic system. "Adultery and desertion lead to divorce because it is no longer necessary to tie down the fertility of women to definite points in a segmentary system based on patrilineal descent (p. 53)". In support of this argument is quoted the infrequency of divorce among Zulu in Natal, where "the old system, characterized by strong agnatic affiliation . . . has survived despite loss of sovereignty . . . labour migration and frequent adultery and illegitimacy". Now it may be true that in tribes characterized by strong agnatic affiliations divorce is rare. But it is not legitimate to argue that the increased frequency of divorce among Nguni is due mainly to the breakdown of their agnatic system. In the urban areas of Natal where the agnatic system *has* completely broken down, divorce is still rare, though marriage is unstable and women move frequently from one husband to another. There is no resort to divorce because legal divorce as a way of resolving difficulties in marriage or as a necessary preliminary to a change of partners is largely foreign to Zulu thought. If then divorce is common among Nguni it must be due primarily to a change in outlook related probably to the influence of surrounding peoples and cannot be explained in terms of the change in social structure.

Not enough use is made in this study of Zulu material. E.g. the author never makes up his mind (see p. 3 c.f. p. 110) as to the exact connotation of the old Nguni requirement of premarital chastity. Yet consultation of S. African sources would have made it clear that all Nguni tribes had the institution of pre-marital external sex intercourse which was not considered to violate chastity. In view of this the "moral dilemma" said to be caused by the influence of the Cewa view that a girl who did not copulate at puberty would die, loses all meaning. And does this Cewa puberty custom imply a different pre-marital sex morality from that of Nguni? We need to be told more about Cewa custom before this can be accepted.

The book as a whole contains a great deal of useful material but one gets the impression that the writer was too engrossed in the collection of statistics to get that intimate insight into the life and outlook of the people which alone can clothe them with meaning. The picture that emerges is by no means clear or convincing. A fundamental weakness in the method is the almost complete absence of information on the culture, or analysis of the influence, of the surrounding matrilineal peoples (Nsenga and Cewa) whose women have, over a period of almost a hundred years, been incorporated into Nguni society and whose influence has been intensified since the coming of the European. Indeed there could be little left either ethnically or culturally of the influence of the small band that originally set out from Zulu-

land. To be adequate, any study of the forces underlying changes in Nguni marriage and social structure must be made in the light of the culture of the surrounding matrilineal tribes.

EILEEN J. KRIGE.

CORRIGENDA

"African Studies" Vol. 10 No. 4, 1951.

Article: "Some African Royal Burials and Coronations in Western Tanganyika".

Corrections:

p. 185 Synopsis, 4th. para. line 1
Kibunga should read Kibangwa.

p. 185 Reference, Roya should read Royal.

p. 188 No. 19, line 1 Copse should read Corpse.

p. 193 left column, 1st para, line 5
Kilongwe should read Kitongwe.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

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REV. C. CAGNOLO, I.M.C. was a missionary in Kenya Colony from 1913. He is the author of the book "The Kikuyu".

DR. G. K. F. WAGNER

On August 21, 1952, Dr. Guenter K. F. Wagner died suddenly at Windhoek. Born in 1908 in Berlin, Wagner completed his secondary education at the 'Realgymnasium', Berlin-Treptaw. He then took up the study of Social anthropology at the University of Freiburg (Breisgau) in 1926–27 : at Columbia University, in 1927–29, and at the University of Hamburg in 1930–31. While in the United States he made two field expeditions to Central Oklahoma to study the language of the Yuchi Indians and to investigate the recent diffusion of the Peyote Cult. In 1932 he took his Dr. Phil. at the University of Hamburg in social anthropology, psychology and phonetics. His thesis, *Entwicklung und Verbreitung des Peyote-Kultes* (Growth and Diffusion of the Peyote Cult) was awarded the note "ausgezeichnet" (excellent). During 1932–33 he continued his theoretical training at various American Universities, Columbia and the University of California and engaged in further ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork among North American Indians, mainly among the Comanche. From 1933 to 1939 he concentrated on the study of problems of African ethnology, linguistics and, in particular, culture contacts, partly in Kenya and partly in London, where he worked under Malinowski and also under the auspices of the International African Institute.

In April, 1939, Wagner returned to Germany to write up the results of his African fieldwork and to establish himself as a lecturer in Social Anthropology at a German University. In June 1940 he took a Dr. Phil. habil. at the University of Berlin working under Professors Thurwald and Westermann. In December 1940 he was appointed lecturer (Dozent) in Social Anthropology at the University of Tuebingen (Wuertemberg) and head of the *Institut fuer Volkerkunde* at that University. In 1942 he was conscripted for military service and served on various fronts, Russia (Stalingrad), Greece and Italy until the end of the war.

After the war he returned to Hamburg to work on his African material. In February 1949 he was appointed lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of Kiel.

In early 1950 he was appointed assistant ethnologist at Pretoria to the Union Government. He had collected a large amount of data on culture contacts, but his untimely death had prevented him from preparing it for publication, and it seems that the second volume of his Kavirondo is in much the same plight.

During the first term of the academic year 1952 he acted as temporary lecturer in social anthropology in the University of the Witwatersrand. His early death is a serious loss to the study of social anthropology. M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS BY G. K. F. WAGNER

I. PUBLICATIONS IN ENGLISH

1 **Yuchi Tales.** *Publications of the American Ethnological Society*, edited by FRANZ BOAS. G. E. Stechert & Co., New York : 1931. Vol. XIII. X and 357 pp.

2 **Yuchi Grammar.** *Handbook of American Indian Languages*. Columbia University Press, New York: 1934. Vol. III, pp. 295–384.

3 **The Background of Sex and Sex Teaching among the Maragoli.** In "*Christianity and the Sex Education of the African*", edited by JAMES W. C. DOUGALL. S.P.C.K., London : 1937. pp. 43–65.

4 **The Study of Culture Contact and the Determination of Policy.** *Africa*. Oxford University Press ; Oxford : 1938. Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 317–331.

5 **The Changing Family among the Bantu Kavirondo.** *Memorandum* XVIII of the "*International Institute of African Languages and Cultures*". Oxford University Press ; Oxford : 1939. 52 pp.

6 **Witchcraft among the Azande,** a Review of Dr. Evans-Pritchard's book. Publ. as a separate article in the *Journal of the Royal African Society*, London: 1937. Vol. XXXVI, No. CXLV, pp. 471–476.

7 **The Work of Dr. Gutmann—an Anthropologist's Criticism.** *International Review of Missions*. London: 1937.

8 **Native Institutions and Local Government.** *Oxford Summer School on Colonial Administration*, Second Session 1938. pp. 80–83 (condensed). Oxford University Press; Oxford: 1938.

9 **The Political Organization of the Bantu of Kavirondo.** In *African Political Systems*, edited by M. FORTES and E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD. Oxford University Press; Oxford: 1940. pp. 197–238. 2nd. impression; Oxford: 1948.

10 **The Bantu of North Kavirondo.** *Published for the International African Institute* by the Oxford University Press; Oxford: 1949. Vol. I, XV and 511 pp.

11 **Aspects of Conservatism and Adaptation in the Economic Life of the Herero.** *Sociologus*. Berlin: 1952. New Series. Vol. II, No. 1.

12 **Numerous book reviews in** "Man", "Africa", "American Anthropologist", etc.

II. PUBLICATIONS IN GERMAN

13 **Entwicklung und Verbreitung des Peyote-Kultes.** Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Akkulturation. *Baessler Archiv*. Bd. XV, pp. 59–144. 1932 Nr. 2/3.

14 **Reifeweihen bei den Bantustaemmen Kavirondos und ihre heutige Bedeutung.** *Archiv fuer Anthropologie*. neue Folge. Braunschweig: 1939. Bd. 25, Nr. 1, S. 1–35.

15 **Die Religion der Bantu Kavirondo.** *Zeitschrift fuer Ethnologie*. Jahrg. 71, S. 201–218. Berlin: 1939.

16 **Das Luxo-Spiel der Bantu Kavirondo.** *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft fuer Voelkerkunde*. 1940. Nr. 10.

17 **Die moderne Entwicklung der Landwirtschaft bei den Kavirondo Bantu.** *Zeitschrift der Gesellaschaft fuer Erdkunde* zu Berlin; Berlin: 1940. S. 264–287, Nr. 7/8.

18 **Voelkerkunde und Eingeborenenlenkung.** *Koloniale Rundschau*. Leipzig: 1941. S. 253–267.

19 **Das quantitative Verfahren in der voelkerkundlichen Feldforschung.** *Beitraege zue Kolonialforschung*. Bd. 1. S. 111–128. Berlin: 1942.

20 **Dei Lebensgeschichte Christopher Mtivas.** IN: "*Afrikaner erzaehlen ihr Leben*". (Written down in the vernacular, translated into German and provided with an introduction). Edited by Prof. DIEDRICH WESTERMANN. Essener Verlagsantalt; Essen: 1938 (ca. 35 pp.).

21 **"Kenya" and "Uganda".** Two contributions of together about 100 pages to the symposium: "*Afrika, Handbuch der* angewandten Voelkerkunde", Vol. 2. Schluessel Verlag. Innsbruck: 1947.

22 **Compilation of various bibliographies** (Central and South America) for the "*Ethnologischer Anzeiger*", and numerous book reviews in "*Archiv fuer Anthropologie*" "*Ethnologischer Anzeiger*", "*Zeitschrift fuer Ethnologie*", "*Zeitschrift fuer Vergl. Rechtswissenschaft*", "*Deutsche Literaturzeiung*" & c.

Note: Publications Nos. 5, 9, and 10 were published in German as well, the relevant titles being: (5) Die traditionelle und die moderne Familie bei den Kavirondo-Bantu *Archiv f. Anthropologie*, neus Folge, Bd. 25, S. 85–100. Braunschweig 1939: (9) Wesenszuege der politischen Struktur der Kavirondo Bantu (Studien zur Auslandskunde. *Afrika*, B.D. 1, p. 7–54. Berlin: 1941); (10) *Die Kavirondo Bantu*, Bd. 1. W. Kohlhammer Verlag. Stuttgart 1943. (with the exception of two reference copies, the whole edition was destroyed by fire).